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ABSTRACT

This study examines the role of Title VI of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 in supporting international education activities. Data for the study were collected from records such as grant proposals and from interviews with Congressional and Department of Education staff, members of the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, government employers of foreign area specialists, interest group representatives, and persons from Title VI area studies centers. The study consists of six major chapters. The first five chapters describe and evaluate how Title VI operates at the federal level; the activities of college and university area studies centers; the Foreign International Studies Programs; and the research program. The study concludes by examining future program directions in chapter six. The study notes that the basic policy dilemma facing Title VI is the tradeoff between specialist training and general diffusion of international knowledge. Despite its limited resources, Title VI will continue to address both these objectives. The study recommends that the existing stock of specialists be maintained and that more realistic incentives for professional training with an international studies focus be created. The program should pay greater attention to area studies and to materials development at the K-12 level. (Author/RM)

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R-2770-ED

Federal Support for International Studies: The Role of NDEA Title VI

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May 1981

Prepared for the
U.S. Department of Education

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PREFACE

Title VI of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958 supports international education activities that range from advanced Ph.D. training to elementary social studies and serve not only all types and levels of educational institutions, but also some business and community interests.[1] NDEA funds five programs: International Studies Centers, Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowships, Graduate[2] and Undergraduate International Studies Programs, a Research and Studies Program, and Citizen Education for Cultural Understanding.[3]

This study of NDEA Title VI, sponsored by the Department of Education (Contract No. 300-79-0777), had five major objectives:

- To describe and evaluate how Title VI operates at the federal level.[4]
- To describe and evaluate the activities of college and university area studies centers.
- To assess the effectiveness of the Graduate and Undergraduate International Studies Programs.
- To describe and assess the effectiveness of the research program.
- To evaluate the Title VI program in the larger context of international education.

This study is expected to be useful to policymakers in assessing the federal role in international education, and to college and university officials in identifying new directions for their own Title VI programs.

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[1]In September 1980, NDEA Title VI was reauthorized as Title VI of the Higher Education Act. Since this study was conducted while the program was part of the earlier NDEA legislation, the earlier terminology is used in this report.

[2]The Graduate International Studies Program was eliminated just as this evaluation began. The program has been kept as part of the evaluation.

[3]The Citizen Education component was not included in the evaluation.

[4]As part of this evaluation we were required to present Title IV program objectives and their implementation in a series of schematic diagrams. These program logic models have been transmitted to the Department of Education separately. Anyone interested in obtaining them may contact the authors of this report.

SUMMARY

When Congress enacted the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958, its objective was narrow and clearly articulated: "to insure trained manpower of sufficient quality and quantity to meet the national defense needs of the United States." Under that rubric, the federal government supported the education of specialists in various disciplines, among them foreign languages and area studies. Since then, NDEA Title VI has provided the bulk of federal support for international education. However, as a broader constituency made new demands on the program, its objectives expanded. It now includes not only specialist training but also international education at all levels. The question inevitably arises: Are Title VI's resources sufficient to pursue both of these aims effectively?

We began this study assuming that its purpose would be to identify the tradeoffs in choosing among various program objectives. However, analysis of Congressional intent and program constituents' interests soon indicated that such choices are impossible. The recent reauthorization of Title VI makes clear that it will remain both a specialist-producing and general education program. Thus, our purpose in the report is not to suggest criteria for a major restructuring of the program. Rather, we make recommendations aimed at creating a more effective set of policy levers within the Title VI program framework and selecting activities that maximize program efficiency despite limited resources.

We base these recommendations on the legislative and administrative history of the program, a description and evaluation of the program's components, and an assessment of Title VI's general role in the larger context of international education. The report covers these areas in considerable detail. Here, we emphasize the latter two areas.

This report is based on data collected during Phase I of our study. These data come from records such as grant proposals and from interviews at the national level with Congressional and Department of Education (ED) staff, members of the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies, government employers of foreign area specialists, and interest group representatives. We also conducted 335 interviews at 25 Title VI area studies centers; 12, formerly funded, international studies programs, both graduate and undergraduate; and 5 Title VI research projects. During Phase II of the project we will survey 1700 foreign language and area doctoral gradu-

ates in order to analyze supply and demand trends in these fields and the match between training and subsequent employment. Phase II findings will be reported in a separate volume.

TITLE VI ACTIVITIES: FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Title VI program now operates in a context that has changed considerably since the original legislation was enacted. Declining enrollment and fiscal constraints have hurt the universities, generally, and international studies has been especially vulnerable to their effects. The demand for new area studies specialists has greatly declined in academia, and government and business have absorbed only part of the surplus. Fiscal constraints have not only hurt hiring; they have also jeopardized the enrichment, outreach, and language study components of the program.

These circumstances have intensified competition for Title VI funds, and policymakers must weigh choices that affect the program's multiple objectives. To make these choices, they need to evaluate how well existing program components are performing; what substantive, administrative, and financial problems these components face; and what the appropriate federal role and response should be.

The Title VI Centers Program

In FY 1980, ED funded 87 centers, a small fraction of the nation's 640 foreign area programs. However, because Title VI centers train so many of the nation's language and area specialists and represent the highest quality programs, an examination of the centers provides a description of perhaps the most critical segment of our international studies resources.

The area centers program has traditionally received the bulk of Title VI funds. Our study indicates that these centers have been attentive to their training, enrichment, and outreach functions. Further, they have used external funds judiciously and cost-effectively. However, the centers now face the dual problems of a reduced academic labor market and fiscal stringency in higher education. These problems make certain activities vulnerable and dictate that centers change their approach to language and area studies.

Unfortunately, most of the centers have not adapted their training to financial and market conditions. They continue to prepare students

for research and teaching, and the humanities dominate many center programs. Since humanities graduates suffer the highest levels of unemployment, the centers should make efforts to link their programs to more policy-oriented disciplines and help their students identify and prepare for non-academic jobs. Most have done neither. The result is a disjunction between center focus and national need, as defined by academic, governmental, and business employers.

Our findings suggest three substantive changes that ED might consider to redirect center behavior.

1. *Define potential grant recipients more flexibly.* At some universities, existing centers are not the best instruments for promoting international studies and meeting ED program goals. Universities should have the option of applying for Title VI grants with the combination of campus entities and activities they think most appropriate.
2. *Fine-tune requirements for professional school links.* Although ED made links between professional schools and area centers a criterion in the centers grant competition, half of those in our sample had no formal professional school ties. Our data identified several impediments to these ties. ED needs to refine this requirement by identifying those world area-professional school combinations that are in greatest demand and the types of professional schools most receptive to such links.
3. *Define outreach requirements more flexibly.* ED should not require centers to engage in more than one area of outreach, and that should reflect institutional strengths and community needs. Business outreach usually has relevance only in larger metropolitan areas, and K-12 outreach tends to have a limited effect unless it focuses on teacher in-service or curriculum development. Generally, the most effective outreach serves other collegiate institutions. ED should also recognize ongoing consultation between center faculty and governmental agencies as outreach.

In addition to these substantive changes, we also recommend that ED make four administrative changes.

1. *Intensify attempts to recruit major scholars for review panels.* ED should enlist the aid of area studies associations to locate such people in non-applicant institutions.
2. *Clarify panel review criteria and provide a better differentiated weighting scheme.* Complaints about the panel review process have come from the panel reviewers themselves, not just from

center grant recipients. The reviewers' specific suggestions should be considered in redesigning the review criteria.

3. *Require more thorough staff site visits.* This would probably entail scheduling site visits less often. However, those visits could be supplemented with more substantive visits by academic peers and governmental users of center expertise.
4. *Regularly consult area studies associations and government employers.* These groups could supply information about current demand for language and area specialists.

FLAS Fellowship Program

In establishing the Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) fellowship program, Congress intended to ensure that academia, business, and government had a sufficient source of expertise in international studies. In identifying priority disciplines for each world area, ED attempted to encourage selective award of the fellowships and, thus, influence the distribution of specialists by world area and academic discipline.

However, many institutions make fellowship decisions with little attention to the priority disciplines. As a result, an overwhelming majority of FLAS fellowships are awarded in humanities and history, areas with the greatest underemployment. In some instances, the FLAS priority disciplines have actually worked against the manpower needs of governmental agencies. For example, program regulations state that in the Soviet Union-Eastern Europe area "languages other than Russian" have priority. Yet a recent General Accounting Office report indicated that the government has had increasing difficulty recruiting Soviet language and research experts.

The lack of proper incentives has made ED unsuccessful in encouraging language and area studies among professional students and those in high demand disciplines such as economics. Most of these students are marketable without area training. Moreover, the rigidity of professional curricula makes it difficult to include language and area study. Thus, the possibility of a FLAS fellowship has not provided professional students with sufficient incentive to engage in such studies.

Based on these findings, we recommend that ED make four substantive changes in the FLAS Program.

1. *Survey former FLAS recipients to determine employment trends and evaluate the match between training and employment.* Such a survey will be conducted during Phase II of the

current study. Based on its findings, ED should then establish a new set of priority disciplines more in line with current demand for specialists.

2. *Establish a protected competition for the professions and high demand disciplines.* This sort of competition could overcome the disincentives for these students to undertake language and area studies. Centers or campuses with special strength in a discipline like economics should be able to apply for a special group of FLAS fellowships, or students could compete individually. We recommend that up to 10 percent of the total FLAS fellowships be reserved for this purpose.
3. *Establish mid-career sabbatic awards.* Demand for new area and language specialists is limited; there is little turnover among existing specialists; and many are now teaching in smaller, more isolated institutions. These circumstances may make it appropriate to place less emphasis on training new specialists and more on maintaining the skills of experienced ones. To assist this effort, we recommend that 20 to 30 percent of FLAS fellowships be reserved for postdoctoral fellowships.
4. *Increase stipend.* We recommend that the predoctoral stipend be doubled to $5850 and that, if established, the postdoctoral stipend be set at about $15,000. These changes would make the predoctoral fellowships more competitive with other student support and more attractive to non-humanities students. The tradeoff is a decrease in the total number of awards. However, that reduction would make the FLAS program more congruent with current demand.

The most serious administrative problem for FLAS is timeliness of funding disbursement. For fellowship competitors, the practice of making awards just before the academic year begins is particularly inhumane. They are unable to make academic, personal, and financial plans until the last minute. We recommend two changes in the grants competition.

1. *Schedule them one year before actual funding begins.*
2. *Define language study and student status more flexibly.* Rather than monitoring FLAS recipients themselves, ED could require institutions to ensure that their students are making reasonable progress and gaining language competence, in a manner consistent with the institution's own graduate standards.

Graduate and Undergraduate Studies Program

In 1972, ED expanded the scope of NDEA Title VI, making it more than a specialist-producing program. It now funds two-year seed money projects that graduate and undergraduate programs can use to internationalize their curricula. Lack of resources has kept ED from determining the effectiveness of this seed-money strategy. Without systematic data on the continuation rate of projects, it has been unable to disseminate successful project ideas widely and systematically.

Our purposes were to determine the actual continuation rate and to identify those factors that increase a project's chances for continuation. In our sample of 12 projects, 42 percent continued after federal funding ended. Compared with the dismal record of other programs that use a similar seed-money strategy, this continuation rate is not only encouraging, but also demonstrates both the need for an international studies program and its inherent soundness.

We found that projects are most likely to continue if:

- the project's focus is central to broader institutional priorities or core curriculum,
- substantial planning is undertaken prior to grant application,
- the college or university administration is involved in proposal design and grant planning,
- the administration is actively involved in project implementation,
- resources in addition to Title VI's are available for implementation, and
- (for graduate programs) the program is in a professional school rather than a graduate department or program.

Because this program has a relatively small amount of available funding and a large number of potential applicants, it should address two goals: funding the greatest possible proportion of projects that are likely to continue and disseminating information about successful projects as widely as possible. The following recommendations address these goals.

1. *Establish regional panels to assist and evaluate projects.* These panels could provide ED with information about project implementation and continuation rates and the projects with implementation assistance. Regional panels made up of former project directors could accomplish these tasks most efficiently.
2. *Assist projects wanting to qualify for placement on the Na-*

tional Diffusion Network (NDN). This would help disseminate information about successful projects and assist other institutions interested in adopting these projects.

3. *Set aside funds for dissemination efforts.* These efforts might include publication of a handbook of successful project ideas; technical assistance in the planning and pre-proposal stages by former project directors; and presentations by ED staff and project directors at professional meetings.

Research Program

Although the original Title VI legislation intended the Research Program (Section 602) as a support arm for the rest of the program, it has not performed that function. Nevertheless, its research and curriculum products address the basic program objectives. Public and private organizations, educational institutions, and individuals are eligible to apply for grants and contracts.

Our findings about the Research Program seem paradoxical. It has served as a major source of new teaching materials for the uncommonly taught languages. Yet, despite this vital contribution, the Research Program remains a low visibility program even within the international studies community. The major reason for this seeming paradox is that Title VI does not support the publication and dissemination of products developed with Section 602 funds. Thus, those products may be underutilized.

To overcome this dissemination problem and improve the Research Program in other ways, we recommend the following actions.

1. *Fund a dissemination study to determine the demand for research program products and the best ways of serving potential users.* In effect, this would be a study of the research program itself. It would determine who currently uses its language and area materials, how they learned that the materials were available, how many potential users are currently under- or unserved, and what the special problems of developing and disseminating language materials are.
2. *Allocate add-on grants to prepare successful pre-tested materials for publication.*
3. *Increase support for area studies material and decrease the number of language surveys funded.* Although the need for language materials remains great, there is an equal or greater need for area studies material, particularly at the undergraduate and K-12 levels. Partial support for this objective

could be generated by funding fewer language surveys at less frequent intervals.

4. *Coordinate Section 602 with the other Title VI programs.* This could be accomplished by making it the dissemination arm for all of Title VI.

PERFORMANCE INDICATORS

To assess the Title VI program on an ongoing basis, ED needs to develop relevant performance indicators. However, developing these indicators is no simple matter. The program currently stresses both specialist training and general education, but the bulk of funding goes to the former. Thus, this goal should weigh more heavily in overall evaluation of program performance; but the question is, how much more heavily? Further, because Title VI has broad objectives and relatively modest funding, performance indicators must take that disparity into account. Finally, the Division of International Education (DIE) exerts limited control over grant recipients because of legislative language that makes federal program requirements for Title VI minimal.

Even with these limitations in mind, a number of performance standards seem appropriate for the component programs and overall administration.

- *For the Centers.* Requirements affecting distribution of Title VI funds should be scrutinized to determine their appropriateness to the job market and whether the centers can meet these requirements within the university context. DIE should use available program levers in a way that rewards institutions that adapt to current user needs. It should also improve the training-employment match by maintaining systematic, ongoing contact with government and business employers.
- *For the Graduate and Undergraduate Program.* DIE administration should be evaluated on these bases: the continuation rate of funded projects and how widely project ideas are disseminated and adopted by other institutions.
- *For the Research Program.* Performance criteria should be based on how well the program supports research relevant to all those served by Title VI and develops mechanisms that promote dissemination of products.
- *For Overall Program Administration.* The two performance indicators we suggest here are also strong recommendations for assisting program recipients: more timely disbursement of funds and more adequate feedback on grant recipients' reports.

Disbursement of funds could be improved by staggering the grant cycles for the various Title VI component programs and by scheduling funding competitions well in advance of actual award dates. The required reports are now rather meaningless since grant recipients receive little or no feedback on them. DIE staff resources are limited; thus, it might be more practical to require one comprehensive report and two, shorter, fiscal reports during a three-year grant cycle. If deadlines for these reports were staggered, the staff could respond in detail to the comprehensive report.

In conclusion, our study leads us to believe that there is reason for optimism in contemplating Title VI's future. It has survived for more than 20 years, despite limited funds, changes in emphasis, and threats to its existence. It is probably stronger today than it has ever been. It is well-regarded in the field, and the problems that grant recipients have identified are amenable to change. The task will be difficult, but new legislation and renewed public interest should help Title VI adapt to the changed circumstances of international studies.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Throughout this research we were fortunate to receive expert counsel from two of international studies' senior statesmen, Richard Lambert of the University of Pennsylvania and Robert Ward of Stanford. Robert Berls and Shelley Laverty of the Department of Education served as our guides to DIE operations and in many ways helped smooth our journey. Rand staff assisting us included Jane Cobb and Cathleen Stasz, who participated in analyzing the field data; Barbara Quint, who identified ways international studies research could be more effectively disseminated; and Jonathan Pollack, who reviewed the draft report. Diane Alexander, Naomi Moebius, Sue Payne, and Ann Westine handled the often tedious task of producing multiple report drafts with skill and good humor. Becky Goodman improved our draft with her editing and Joyce Peterson prepared a concise summary of this rather long report.

We are especially grateful to all those respondents across the country who took the time to share with us their knowledge of international studies. Although we depended greatly on such diverse and willing assistance, we alone are responsible for any shortcomings from which this report may suffer.

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Chapter 1

THE POLITICS OF FEDERAL SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Since its inception in 1958, the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) Title VI program has formed the keystone of federal support for international education. Despite its modest funding level, Title VI has profoundly shaped international education in this country and has served as the target for various competing interests and expectations.[1] Consequently, Title VI now funds activities that range from advanced Ph.D. training to elementary school social studies and serves not only all educational levels and types of institutions, but also some business and community interests. However, many now question whether Title VI's scarce resources are spread too thin. This questioning comes as new groups make claims on the program, demand for advanced area specialists shifts, and our recent foreign policy crises generate renewed interest in foreign language and area studies.

The purpose of this study is to evaluate the Title VI program in this larger context of international education or "that aspect of our educational system devoted to studying, writing, and teaching about other parts of the world."[2] It is based on approximately 375 interviews with people who have a national interest in Title VI and with faculty, administrators, and students at twenty-five NDEA-funded centers and twelve international studies projects.[3]

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[1]Until the budget request of $23 million for FY 81, NDEA Title VI had never been funded at more than $17 million annually. Over the twenty-one years of the program, its funding level has averaged less than $12 million a year with the amount falling below $10 million for seven of those years. By 1974 the program's authorization reached $75 million although appropriations have never equaled even one-quarter of this amount.

[2]Richard D. Lambert (ed.), *New Directions in International Education, The Annals*, Vol. 449, May 1980, p. vii.

[3]The site selection and methodology for the centers and project fieldwork are described in subsequent chapters. At the federal level we conducted 45 interviews with the following classes of respondents: Congressional staff from relevant authorizing and appropriations committees; policy and program staff at HEW and the Office of Education; members of the recent President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies; representatives of governmental agencies that employ foreign language and area specialists (viz., the State Department, CIA, and Congressional Research Service); and relevant interest groups representing higher education, elementary and secondary; and the foreign language and area studies associations. These interviews were completed between November 1979 and May 1980.

This chapter describes program objectives as they have evolved through the legislative and administrative history of Title VI. It then presents a general analysis of NDEA Title VI in light of constituent demands and the problems facing international studies today.

Throughout this study run several basic questions about the federal role in international education:

- How do various actors, including Congress, Office of Education staff,[4] other governmental agencies, relevant interest groups, and grant recipients, define the federal role in this area?
- How do they justify this role and what are the implications for Title VI program objectives?
- What is the extent of agreement among these various groups?
- What are the probable consequences of choosing to pursue one set of program objectives rather than another?

Subsequent chapters will assess the individual components of the Title VI program. A final chapter outlines a series of issues policymakers and administrators need to consider in determining future directions for the Title VI program.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF TITLE VI

The Early Years

The legislative history of Title VI reflects the ongoing tension between those people who view its purpose as a narrow one of training specialists and those who see Title VI serving a broader, general education function. During the early years of the program, however, the narrower definition prevailed. Largely as a response to the Russian launching of Sputnik, Congress enacted the National Defense Education Act of 1958. The purpose of the legislation was to "insure trained manpower of sufficient quality and quantity to meet the national defense needs of the United States." Along with science and mathematics, modern foreign languages were among the areas in which training would be supported. Title VI of the Act was entitled "Language Development" and included four relevant sections:

[4]In May 1980, the U.S. Office of Education (USOE) became the Department of Education (ED). We refer to the agency throughout this report as OE because Title VI operated under this structure for most of its history and because it is not yet clear how the program will be organized in the new Department, or even whether ED will continue as a cabinet-level department.

Sec. 601a provided for the establishment of centers that would teach those modern foreign languages for which the Commissioner of Education determined: "1) that individuals trained in such languages are needed by the Federal Government or by business, industry, or education in the United States, and 2) that adequate instruction in such language is not readily available in the United States." Centers could also provide instruction about the regions in which these languages were used. The academic disciplines considered relevant were: history, political science, linguistics, economics, sociology, geography, and anthropology.

Sec. 601b provided for foreign language fellowships, to be used for advanced training in certain modern foreign languages and other fields needed for a full understanding of the regions in which these languages were used.

Sec. 602 established a research capability, to be used to determine the need for foreign language and international training, conduct research on more effective methods of language teaching, and to develop curriculum materials.

Sec. 611 authorized contracts with colleges and universities to conduct language institutes for elementary and secondary teachers.[5]

In examining the context in which this initial legislation was enacted and the activities it authorized, five major characteristics emerge:

- Title VI provided for the first systematic teaching of those modern languages previously offered on an irregular or limited basis. For example, in 1958 only 23 students in the United States were studying Hindi.[6]
- As the title "Language Development" suggests, the original emphasis of Title VI was on foreign language rather than area studies. Although the teaching of social science courses was authorized, it was secondary to language instruction. This was reflected during the early years of the program when the vast majority of graduate fellowships were awarded to students preparing "to teach language in college or to use their language competencies in some other public service."[7]

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[5]The complete text of the NDEA Title VI legislation and its successor, Title VI of the Higher Education Act, is reproduced in Appendix B.

[6]*Report on the National Defense Education Act*, U.S. Office of Education, June 30, 1959, p. 42.

[7]U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Education and Labor, *Status Report on the National Defense Education Act at Midpoint: June 1960*, submitted by

- Title VI made institutions of higher education the primary vehicle for increasing national expertise in foreign language. Although elementary and secondary teachers were served, it was through programs operated by colleges and universities.
- The entire NDEA program was justified on the basis of national foreign policy and defense interests. While notions of enrichment and popular education would enter the program later, they were not present in the original legislation.
- The initial legislation, designed "to meet the present educational emergency," was viewed as a capacity-building aid of limited duration.

In sum, the original NDEA Title VI legislation limited the program in its purpose, scope, and duration.

The International Education Act (IEA)

Although funds were never appropriated for its implementation, the International Education Act of 1966 legitimated a broader federal role in international studies. In a 1965 speech at the Smithsonian, President Lyndon Johnson announced the establishment of a special task force "to recommend a broad and long-range plan of worldwide educational endeavor."[8] The recommendations of the task force were then incorporated into a Presidential message to Congress that covered a broad spectrum of programs from student exchanges to illiteracy in developing nations. One section of the message dealt with university foreign language and area centers and eventually formed the nucleus of the International Education Act.

The IEA authorized grants to support both graduate centers and undergraduate instruction in international studies. Additionally, the legislation amended NDEA Title VI to allow the funding of centers that teach the more common languages like Spanish, French, and German.[9]

Perhaps even more significant than the activities that IEA authorized was the rationale underlying this legislation. NDEA Title VI had justified federal support to colleges and universities as a means of

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Lawrence G. Derthick, Commissioner of Education, to Subcommittee on Special Education, 86th Cong., 2d sess., p. 11.

[8]"Smithsonian Address of President Lyndon Johnson," delivered on the occasion of the centennial celebration of the Smithsonian Institution, September 16, 1965.

[9]Until this change, mainly uncommonly taught languages (approximately 83) were designated by OE as eligible for Title VI funding. Six major world languages were identified for first priority in development—Arabic, Chinese, Hindi-Urdu, Japanese, Portuguese, and Russian. In 1962, Latin American Spanish was added to complement the Alliance for Progress program.

achieving national foreign policy objectives. Congress, however, viewed IEA as a way of strengthening postsecondary institutions independent of their immediate contribution to federal needs. As the House Committee report stated:

> The committee is particularly interested in seeing *broad support* under the act given to a diversity of high-quality programs. The International Education Act is designed to make it possible for the Federal Government to bring about a basic improvement in its relationship with our colleges and universities in international education. Rather than simply buying a commodity defined in narrow terms, as has been the case all too often in the past, the Federal Government would instead make a conscious, systematic and long-term investment in this facet of U.S. education.[10]

Besides justifying institutional aid for its own sake, IEA also introduced other new concepts of federal support for international education. First, in addition to centers that emphasized particular areas of the world, IEA also authorized centers that focused on functional fields or issues and transcended individual countries and regions. Hence, Congress recognized a need for centers specializing in such issues as population, economic development, food, and energy. Second, Congress intended that professional schools like education, law, medicine, public health, business administration, agriculture, engineering, and architecture be included in international education activities.[11] This would expand international studies beyond its traditional base in the humanities and social sciences. Finally, IEA was designed to broaden the group affected by federal support for international studies. In his Congressional testimony, John Gardner, then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, noted that NDEA had touched relatively few students. He then argued that:

> It is of greatest importance to American undergraduate learning that we expand from the NDEA training of specialists concept and establish a broad base in the colleges and universities for educating our young people as generalists and citizens. . . .[12]

IEA was signed into law by President Johnson in Bangkok on

[10]U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, *International Education Act of 1966*, report to accompany H.R.14643, Report No. 1539, 89th Cong., 2d sess., p. 13.

[11]Ibid.

[12]U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Hearings Before the Task Force on International Education of the Committee on Education and Labor*, 89th Cong., 2d sess., on H.R.12451 and H.R.12452, March 30-31, April 1-7, 1966, p. 17.

October 29, 1966. At that time he described IEA as the first step toward extending the goals and achievements of the Great Society to the rest of the world.[13] Yet these expectations were never to be met within the context of IEA. Although it was authorized at levels of $90 million by 1969, Congress never appropriated any funds for IEA. But the legacy of IEA remained. Some of its provisions were incorporated into NDEA, and legislation recently enacted by Congress embodies many of the concepts originally included in IEA.

Attempts to "Zero-budget" NDEA Title VI

By the late 1960s, NDEA Title VI provided support to 106 centers at some 59 different institutions. However, in the early 1970s the Nixon Administration initiated the first of several attempts to reduce the Title VI budget substantially and ultimately, to phase out the program. The Administration opposed categorical programs and preferred to deliver federal funds as general aid with minimal targeting requirements. Given this position, Title VI became one of many small categorical programs the Administration targeted for the same fate. The rationale for eliminating Title VI was interesting because it justified this action on the basis of NDEA's original legislative intent. For example, in arguing for a complete elimination of Title VI, the Administration stated:

> The urgent need for highly trained specialists in foreign language and area studies has largely been met since the program was initiated. The continuing need for such experts should now be filled by people who are sufficiently interested to pursue their studies in the absence of a special Federal program, while the Centers which rely on Federal support for only 10% of their funding should now be able to assume the full cost.[14]

Under questioning by Representative Robert H. Michel, Administration officials noted that they had discussed the need for foreign area specialists with the State Department:

> All the indications are that they [the State Department] have

[13]"Congress Strengthens Foreign Studies at U.S. Colleges," *Congressional Quarterly Almanac*, 89th Cong., 2d sess., Vol. 22, 1966, Congressional Quarterly Service, Washington, D.C., p. 309.

[14]U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Departments of Labor and Health, Education and Welfare Appropriations for 1974*, hearings before the Subcommittee on Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare Appropriations of the Committee on Appropriations, 93rd Cong., 1st sess., 1974, part 2, p. 892.

an abundant supply of people with this kind of expertise. . . . In effect, we have produced almost an oversupply.[15]

Program constituents countered Administration statements in several ways. First, they argued that while federal support was only 10 percent of Center budgets, it played a critical role. According to them, federal money was being used to fund activities that universities would not and could not fund on their own, including building extensive library collections, supporting students through a longer training period, and maintaining small enrollment classes in scarce languages. Also, they said that the 10 percent figure was deceptive because funds for Title VI student fellowships were separate from Center support and that NDEA, along with other external sources, accounted for 50 percent of all fellowship funds.[16] Second, program constituents argued that even if an oversupply of specialists existed, stopping "the flow for short term reasons would leave the country without a reservoir of expertise when circumstances change, as they most surely will."[17] But beyond this argument, university faculty maintained that there was no surplus of non-Western scholars, that people were still finding employment—although at lesser ranked institutions than previously. Finally, in support of the universities' viewpoint, the *New York Times* argued in an editorial that the Administration was being "penny-wise and pound-foolish" in ending federal support for international studies. It noted that "the effort to save an infinitesimal amount of money by wreaking havoc on foreign language and area centers is isolationism in action. . . ."[18]

The relevant interest groups succeeded in saving the program. Academics close to Nixon (viz., Daniel Moynihan and Henry Kissinger) worked with university presidents to convince the President to change the Administration's position on Title VI. In addition, Congress continued to appropriate funds for the program even at the height of the Administration's attempts to eliminate it. By the mid-1970s, Title VI could be characterized as a modest, but stable program.

Those administering NDEA Title VI within the Office of Education

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[15]Ibid., part 1, p. 87.

[16]"Statement of the American Council on Education, Together with the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, the Association of American Colleges, the National Association of State Universities and Land Grant Colleges, and the National Council of Independent Colleges and Universities," ibid., part 7, p. 388.

[17]U.S. Congress, Senate, "Statement of Lea E. Williams, Director, East Asia Language and Area Center, Brown University," *Education Amendments of 1971*, hearings before the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 92d Cong., 1st sess., S.659, part 3, p. 1246.

[18]"The Language Programs," *New York Times*, April 7, 1973.

(OE) took the lowered appropriations of the early 1970s as an opportunity to redirect the program,[19] cutting the number of centers in half and requiring them to compete for federal support every three years. As part of IEA's legacy, centers focusing on Western European studies and functional topics were funded for the first time and two-year seed money projects were initiated to internationalize general graduate and undergraduate curricula. Finally, funded centers were now required to spend part of their Title VI grant on outreach activities directed beyond the centers' immediate faculty and student population.

With these changes, Title VI became in practice more than a specialist-producing program. Program staff justified these changes by arguing that they were only following Congressional intent as articulated in IEA. Some also felt that such changes would make the program less vulnerable in the future because its constituency had now been broadened beyond the major research universities.

The passage of IEA and subsequent attempts to zero-budget Title VI sharply focused the ongoing debate about the correct federal role in international education. IEA assumed that the federal government had an obligation to provide broad-based institutional support for international education, that federal funds should be used to enrich the general curriculum, and not be limited to advanced training in languages and area studies. IEA emphasized educating citizens as much as training specialists.

On the other hand, those who wanted Title VI eliminated defined the federal role more narrowly. These people, primarily within the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and OE's own budget office, argued that the only justification for federal support was national interest as defined by U.S. foreign policy and defense needs. In their view, Title VI was designed to train specialists who could inform foreign policymakers. General enrichment or diffusion of knowledge about international issues was a state and local responsibility. Using this assumption, they argued that only a few centers with the greatest capability for training specialists should be funded and that once manpower needs were met or students were entering these fields without external incentives, federal support could be removed. These people make a distinction between things that are "great to know" (but that are peripheral to decisions the United States must make) and the kind of knowledge that might have helped the federal government in Vietnam or in our present Middle Eastern crises. OMB staff also argue that Title VI must be compared with other federal priorities like equal

[19]In its first attempt to reduce NDEA Title VI, the Administration requested $4,930,000 for FY 71 and Congress appropriated $7,170,000, down from $13 million in 1970.

educational opportunity. On this criterion, they maintain that supporting "scholars of fifth century Bangladesh" becomes a luxury. This tension between specialist production and general enrichment has not disappeared and, as we shall see, it has infused the Title VI program with a rather schizophrenic quality.

New Program Directions

When NDEA Title VI was reauthorized in 1976, its objectives were further broadened with the inclusion of a new provision entitled "Citizen Education" (Section 603). Its purpose was to increase "general citizen awareness of, and education about global issues of pressing domestic consequence."[20] Section 603 authorized grants to public and private organizations for teacher inservice, the compilation of existing information and resources about other nations for use by educators, and information dissemination upon request.[21] Eligible grant recipients include postsecondary institutions, state education agencies, local school districts, professional associations, and teacher organizations. However, Section 603 contained a "trigger" that prevented it from being funded until total appropriations for Title VI exceeded $15 million a year. Consequently, it was not funded until FY 1979. Presently, Section 603 supports 39 projects, 23 of which are run by postsecondary institutions. The remainder of the grants were awarded to local school districts (6), state education agencies (3), and various nonprofit organizations (7).[22]

Over the past two years, language and area studies have received more national visibility than perhaps at any other time in the recent past. A major focus of this interest has been the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies. As an outgrowth of the Helsinki accords and after suggestions from several Congressmen, the White House issued an Executive Order on April 21, 1978, establishing a Presidential Commission. The Commission included 25 members who, as is the case with most presidential commissions, represented a broad spectrum of interests. In November 1979, the Commission issued

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[20]U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, *Higher Education Amendments of 1976*, report to accompany H.R.12851, Report No. 94-1086, 94th Cong., 2d sess., p. 24.

[21]As reported out of the House Committee on Education and Labor, Section 603 authorized curriculum development. But in the final version of the bill, Congress expressly forbade this activity. The change came as a response to public and Congressional concern over an NSF-sponsored curriculum project that included a social studies segment on societal attitudes toward death. (One slide in the series showed Eskimos leaving their old people on the ice to die.)

[22]This evaluation does not include a separate assessment of Section 603 because it was not part of OE's original scope of work for the project.

a final report that made 65 separate recommendations and called for $178 million in new federal funding for international education.

Reaction to the Commission's report varied. The media seized on its contention that "Americans' incompetence in foreign languages is nothing short of scandalous, and it is becoming worse. . . ."[23] Consequently, the Report received widespread coverage in both the popular press and in professional publications. However, even those sympathetic to the Commission's aims criticized the report for failing to establish priorities among its recommendations. Congressional staff, relevant interest groups representatives, and OE staff echoed similar sentiments, calling the report a "Christmas Tree" and a "shopping list." They question the Commission's political sophistication in failing to package its recommendations in such a way that they could be translated into realistic legislation or be implemented in other policy arenas.

Those close to the Commission counter by arguing that it was impossible to obtain agreement on priorities because of the diversity of Commission members. To establish priorities would have meant losing the support of some commissioners. Besides, these people argue, the Commission's purpose was to provide a forum and to raise public consciousness about a multifaceted problem; it was not designed to produce a short-term action agenda. According to this view, the Commission's report allows people with different interests and concerns to use its recommendations in attacking the problem from a variety of perspectives. Regardless of the merits of either argument, it is clear that the Commission's report has generated a new and more active interest in the whole issue of federal support for international education.

One concrete response to the Commission's report was the Administration's request for an increase in Title VI and Fulbright-Hays funding levels. Both White House officials and the former Secretary of Education, Shirley Huffstedler, asked President Carter to reverse OMB's earlier budget decisions. As a result, the Department of Education submitted to Congress a $23 million budget request for Title VI (a 35 percent increase over its FY 1980 appropriation) and $7 million for Fulbright-Hays (a 133 percent increase over 1980).

The President's Commission has also affected the reauthorization of Title VI. Several of the Commission's recommendations focused on a tripartite system of centers and programs. The first component would be a set of centers that could serve as national resources; at a lower level of funding would be a group of regional centers; and finally, there would be international studies programs funded for two years to develop lan-

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[23]*Strength Through Wisdom, a Critique of U.S. Capability, A Report to the President from the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., November 1976, p. 5.

guage and area programs at institutions whose primary mission is undergraduate education. This tripartite system has been incorporated into Title VI of the Higher Education Act (HEA) passed by Congress in September 1980.

The new legislation makes several other important changes in Title VI. A new Part B provides funds on a matching basis for business and international education programs to sponsor postsecondary training that can be used by American firms doing business abroad. This addition reflects Congressional judgment that federal support for international education must address economic productivity as well as foreign policy concerns and general citizen enrichment. Another provision of the new legislation moves Citizen Education activities from Title VI to Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). This move was designed to minimize the competition between the traditional postsecondary beneficiaries of Title VI and the newer elementary and secondary constituents of Section 603. Congressional supporters of the legislation also felt such a move would give Citizen Education greater visibility and place it under the protection of influential elementary and secondary education groups like the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and the National Education Association (NEA). Finally, NDEA Title VI was replaced with a new Title VI of HEA. Since most of the other provisions of NDEA have been discontinued or incorporated into other legislation, Congress felt Title VI should be moved into a framework that is more appropriate, given its higher education focus. With this legislation, the aims of NDEA, IEA, and some of the President's Commission recommendations are incorporated in a single program.

After twenty-two years, Title VI is probably a more viable federal program than it has ever been. But some might argue that its most remarkable achievement is to have survived at all. In a sense, Title VI legislative history is rather ironic. On the one hand, it was established to meet a critical national need. Few would question the necessity of having foreign language and area expertise to inform foreign policy decisions. Yet Title VI has remained a low visibility program with only a few active supporters in Congress. Through the years these people have saved the program from extinction but have been unable to increase its funding or visibility. At the same time, Title VI remained "the only game in town." As new constituents from state and community colleges and those representing elementary and secondary interests demanded federal support for their efforts in international education, Title VI simply expanded in purpose with no real corresponding increase in funds. By examining the administration of Title VI and the demands of its constituents, we can begin to understand why

Title VI developed as it did and can assess whether the program can effectively meet such diverse goals.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF TITLE VI

As with most federal grant programs, the management of Title VI involves drafting program regulations, allocating funds, providing limited technical assistance to actual or potential grant recipients, and monitoring the use of program funds by these recipients. If Title VI is to receive stable or increased appropriations, agency management must also defend the program to OMB and before Congress. Despite a sense of professional commitment on the part of its program officers, Title VI has experienced serious administrative problems over the past five years. Because of low visibility and status, program management has been unable to compete effectively for internal agency resources. This situation is also reflected in the lackluster budget justifications made in behalf of Title VI by OE officials.

In other words, Title VI's legislative fate as a low visibility program is reinforced at the administrative level. Title VI has been administered by the Division of International Education (DIE) within OE. Although originally a separate bureau, international education was downgraded to divisional status and moved to the Bureau of Postsecondary Education in 1974. Now under the new Department of Education (ED), Title VI is housed in the Office of Postsecondary Education.

Most observers agree on why Title VI has suffered from low visibility and status within OE. They point out that the overwhelming majority of OE's programs are domestically oriented and designed to promote equal educational opportunity. NDEA Title VI predates the 1965 passage of ESEA that greatly expanded the federal role in education. With the advent of ESEA, OE became an agency whose main concerns are equal access and serving the unmet needs of special populations previously neglected by states and localities. On the other hand, the original intent of NDEA was by definition elitist—to produce language and area experts of the highest quality. Hence, Title VI with its emphasis on *quality* does not fit well in an agency whose primary organizational mission is *equality*. Over the years, this disjuncture has affected both Title VI's internal operations and the way the program has been portrayed to Congress.

One of Title VI's continuing problems is its lack of staff resources.[24]

[24]Because we examined only the Title VI program, we cannot address the question of staff resource allocation across DIE's various functions. However, Title VI accounts for half the division's budget and employs less than one-third of DIE staff.

This same issue of a staff imbalance across DIE's various activities was raised by

The program has never had sufficient funds to make frequent site visits to grant recipients and to follow up on seed money projects once federal funding has ended. In 1978, the GAO recommended that DIE visit more centers, disseminate useful information collected from other centers, provide feedback on reports centers are required to file with OE, and follow up on international studies projects after completion of the grant period.[25] However, since the GAO report was issued DIE has lost several more staff members, and they have not been replaced. Its lack of resources is reflected both in insufficient travel funds and in the staff's inability to make adequate use of data provided by the centers. For example, using existing DIE data, DIE staff could more accurately gauge the role of area centers in promoting interdisciplinary work and the distribution of area studies students by world area and discipline. Both these pieces of information would greatly aid any ongoing assessment of the Title VI program.[26]

The program lacks resources for several reasons. Clearly it is a small program, constituting only about one-tenth of one percent of OE's total budget. At the same time, Title VI is a labor intensive program. Unlike many other OE programs that are entitlements run by the states, Title VI involves a competitive process and a direct ongoing relationship between OE and grant recipients. As we shall suggest in subsequent chapters, there are some changes that DIE can make in order to use existing staff resources more efficiently. Still, the fact remains that the budget for Title VI salaries and expenses is vulnerable because other programs closer to the agency's central mission take priority.

Working relations between DIE and OE policy staff have also been troublesome, with personality conflicts part of the problem. But there are also structural constraints preventing good working relations. DIE has no policy level staff and must rely on management within the Bureau of Postsecondary Education to articulate its interests. DIE staff participate in initial budget deliberations and in some policy discus-

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Richard M. Krasno in a review of international education activities within HEW which he prepared for then-Undersecretary of of HEW, Peter Bell (May 17, 1979). Krasno concluded that DIE is not substantially understaffed. However, selective problems do exist which require either increased staffing or reallocation of staff responsibilities within the division (p. 13).

[25]*Study of Foreign Languages and Related Areas: Federal Support, Administration, Need, Report to the Congress of the United States* by the Controller General, U.S. General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C., September 1978, p. 31.

[26]DIE staff are able to compile some tables on such topics as language instruction at Title VI-funded centers. One staff member wrote a paper recently on the use of Title VI funds by area centers, but such analytical work is rare because of the lack of staff resources. See Ann I. Schneider, "NDEA Centers: How They Use Their Federal Money," in *President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies: Background Papers and Studies*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., November 1979, pp. 169-174.

sions. But the final products are usually drafted by policy staff distant from DIE (e.g., in the commissioner's office) and often come as a complete surprise to DIE staff. According to Congressional and agency respondents, this system recently became a source of embarrassment to OE. The Administration bill to reauthorize Title VI, drafted in the Commissioner's office with little input from OE, was by all accounts a haphazard combination of past legislation, containing a number of technical errors. Again, this lack of communication can be explained at least partially by differences between Title VI and other programs in the postsecondary bureau. Because the bureau's largest programs provide need-based student aid, their underlying philosophy differs from Title VI, which awards fellowships on merit alone.

The effect of this lack of resources and isolation from relevant policy decisions is, of course, low staff morale. Program officers have learned to make the best of their situation and are generally seen by grant recipients as doing the best job possible under the circumstances.[27] However, program management within DIE is quite defensive and rigid. Instead of rethinking staff priorities and devising new ways to structure the workload (e.g., by scheduling grant competitions one year prior to actual award dates or by using a newsletter to communicate with centers that cannot be visited), DIE managers face their problems with a sense of angry resignation. They also attempt to bypass agency management and appeal directly to sympathetic Congressmen and their staffs, using program constituents as liaison. As might be expected, such end-run strategies anger agency officials and only heighten tensions between the two levels. The effect is a further isolation of DIE staff and exacerbation of an already difficult situation.

Title VI's low visibility and incongruence with OE's central mission also affects its relations with Congress. Staff on the Congressional appropriating committees report that Title VI's traditionally low level of funding is at least partially due to the way OE presents its budget justifications. Staff characterized OE's arguments as passive and generally unclear about the program's purpose. For example, they suggested that instead of citing gross enrollment figures for the study of Hindi-Urdu, OE should explain how center faculty are regularly consulted by the State Department and the news media. Congress wants to know why the federal government is supporting the teaching of exotic languages and how this activity relates to national needs. Congressional staff maintain that OE has never made Title VI's purpose

[27]This sense of professional commitment was recently demonstrated when one project officer personally financed her cross-country trip to meet with Title VI grant recipients at a professional association meeting. The trip had originally been approved, but DIE's travel funds were withdrawn when OE needed them for another agency purpose.

entirely clear to Committee members. Consequently, members receive the impression that OE is "dabbling in international education" so it can claim its programs are not entirely domestic. But the House and Senate Committees sense that international education is a low priority within OE, even though the agency pays lip service to the idea. The Congressional appropriating committees also wonder whether a small program like Title VI can meet its varied objectives effectively. Most members see Title VI as primarily a postsecondary program and question its movement into elementary and secondary activities. Again, OE's routine budget presentations have not satisfactorily resolved this issue.

Despite Title VI's traditionally low visibility within OE, it has at times captured the attention of agency leadership. This happened most recently with former OE Commissioner Ernest Boyer who had a particular interest in the concept of "global education." This notion stresses the interdependence of nations and examines issues like food, energy, trade, and the environment on a global basis. In practice, those most interested in global education are people working at the elementary and secondary level. In 1977, Boyer announced global education as one of his "new directions in education" and appointed a task force to examine the need for global perspectives in U.S. education.[28] As a result of Boyer's interest, OE requested a higher funding level for Title VI and eventually the appropriation was enough to activate the Section 603 trigger. But before the global education task force had completed its work, Boyer left OE. At this point, then, it is unclear whether global education will take its place with area studies as a Title VI program focus. In essence, moves to make Title VI more visible have never been institutionalized because of a lack of sustained interest by agency leadership.

However, over the last few years, OE policy staff have tried to move Title VI closer to the agency's main priorities. The Carter Administration's reauthorization bill reflected this emphasis, with its concern for enriching general undergraduate curricula, achieving a broader distribution of Title VI grants, and targeting more program funds to elementary and secondary activities. Such changes may make Title VI more visible within the Department of Education, but unless they are accompanied by greater resources, they may simply dilute the program's overall impact.

Title VI's schizophrenic quality, described in the preceding section, is perhaps best illustrated by recent OE actions. On the one hand, policy staff in preparing the reauthorizing legislation stressed broad populist

[28]U.S. Commissioner of Education, *Task Force on Global Education*, report with recommendations, Washington, D.C., October 1979.

notions of geographic equity and an emphasis on general enrichment. Yet only a few months later, OMB and OE's budget office requested a major increase in funding to be spent *solely* on graduate centers and fellowships. Undergraduate centers and international studies projects aimed at general enrichment were totally eliminated from the FY 81 budget.[29] These contradictory actions exemplify the unresolved debate about the proper federal role in international education. Not only does this ambiguity transmit conflicting signals to Congress and program constituents, but it makes program implementation difficult for DIE staff who played no role in either decision.

Clearly, the administration of Title VI suffers, and perhaps needlessly, from personality conflicts and a staff preoccupation with bureaucratic politics. At the same time, its low status and visibility are almost inevitable given the size of Title VI's budget and its traditional emphasis on recipient quality. Title VI is basically a program far from the mainstream of OE's central mission.

PROGRAM CONSTITUENTS AND THEIR VIEW OF NDEA TITLE VI

Although each group has its own special concerns, most program constituents can be categorized according to either of Title VI's two basic objectives: specialist training or general diffusion of international knowledge. The issue for each group is the relative emphasis it gives these priorities and the extent to which it is willing to accommodate the program objective not in its direct self-interest. Because of Title VI's static funding and the fiscal constraints now facing educational institutions, program constituents view federal support for international education as a zero-sum game—one program objective is achieved at the expense of the other.

The Major Centers Group

The oldest and most influential group represents the area centers at major research universities. This is not a formal group, but rather a network of center directors and university administrators who can mobilize when the need arises. To some extent the American Council on Education (ACE) articulates the group's position, but ACE repre-

[29]Congressional staff report that it is likely the Congressional appropriating committees will reinstate the undergraduate centers and projects. Over the past few months the four-year liberal arts colleges have lobbied intensively against the Administration's budget recommendations.

sents a broader constituency and must accommodate both the views of these major research universities and of other colleges and universities.

Most of the major area centers have existed since the inception of NDEA Title VI: they presently receive the bulk of Title VI funds, and with their eminent faculty, student quality, and library collections represent the country's best area and language programs. Given their preference, these centers would like Title VI to remain a specialist-producing program. They believe that the primary criterion for allocating Title VI funds should be excellence and that the program should continue to support existing centers of strength. Many of these center directors argue that it is a mistake to proliferate newer and weaker programs in a tight job market. Although most of the directors now accept OE's notion of outreach and do a credible job, these centers originally opposed it, arguing that it detracts from the core center program.

In a sense this group has been the most politically astute. Realizing that some popularization of Title VI was inevitable, the group has tried to accommodate these demands and still keep its own interest preeminent. A good example is the current notion of a tripartite system of centers and programs, an idea developed by a member of the President's Commission affiliated with a major research university. He assumed that the major centers would continue to receive the bulk of Title VI funding. However, with some additional monies available for Title VI, newer, less comprehensive centers could be funded as regional centers, and undergraduate institutions with no potential for becoming centers could receive seed money grants to establish international studies programs.[30] Some people who represent institutions that would fall into the second and third tier of this system have criticized the idea as "elitist." But these critics seem to recognize that while the major centers will again benefit disproportionately, lesser-ranked institutions may gain more from this plan than from the current system.

While the major centers group is powerful relative to other groups interested in international education, it is not among the more influential groups lobbying Congress. The group is small and cannot appeal to Congress on the number of votes it represents or because one of its institutions is located in every Congressional districts (in fact, one-third of the Senators come from states with no major graduate school). Consequently, this group has been unable to persuade Congress to expand the Title VI program significantly. At the same time, this group was instrumental in saving Title VI when it was threatened in the early

[30]Robert E. Ward, "Statement on Advanced Training and Research in International Studies," in *President's Commission...Background Papers*, op. cit., pp. 137-168.

1970s. The group was able to accomplish this because of its members' status and reputation: they are well-known faculty and administrators with easy access to government decisionmakers. In other words, these people have been able to use their own reputations and the prestige of their universities to maintain Title VI as a small but viable categorical program. They have also kept their own interests preeminent as other groups have begun to make new demands on Title VI.

The Area Studies Associations

Seven area studies associations represent individual specialists with an interest in Africa, Asia, Canada, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, Latin America, the Middle East, and Western Europe. With membership ranging from a high of about 5000 in the Association for Asian Studies to about 550 in the Council for European Studies, these groups exchange scholarly information; publish journals and newsletters and sponsor conferences; and support other activities like research planning and bringing speakers to campuses. Only one organization maintains a Washington office and most of the associations refrain from lobbying, primarily because they lack resources.[31] These associations include members from all types of institutions, so they cannot take a position on the question of whether Title VI should spend proportionately more on specialists or general education. Rather, the area associations support expanding Title VI funding, and some associations, like the Latin American Studies Association, question whether their world area is receiving its fair share of centers and fellowship funding.[32]

A number of the area association leaders we interviewed also complained about a lack of communication between the Title VI program staff and their associations. They felt that maintaining regular contact with the executive directors of the area studies associations would be a cost effective way for DIE to learn about activities in the field. This contact would also help OE in planning new program initiatives and in drafting regulations.

Recently, some of the associations began to sponsor activities that expand on OE's notion of outreach. For example, within the Association for Asian Studies, a Committee on Teaching about Asia consists of center outreach coordinators and others interested in disseminating

[31]Two world areas, Africa and Latin America, also have organizations that represent college and university programs rather than individual scholars. These groups tend to be more interested in lobbying than the traditional area studies associations.

[32]Our fieldwork data indicate that there are some inequities across world areas. This topic is discussed in Chapter 3.

information about Asia beyond the immediate scholarly community. The group sponsors workshops at the Association's annual meetings and provides a forum for discussing curriculum development, outreach activities, and general information strategies. A similar group exists within the Middle East Studies Association (MESA) and is now active in nationwide distribution of several MESA reviews dealing with images of the Middle East as presented in high school texts.[33] These activities are certainly in keeping with OE's current interest in broadening general knowledge of international issues. Given the limited amount of money available for this activity and the area associations' national constituency, funding these groups may very well be the most effective way to expand international studies into elementary and secondary education.[34]

American Council on Education-Division of International Education

As the country's major umbrella organization in postsecondary education, ACE coordinated efforts to maintain Title VI when the program was threatened with extinction in the early 1970s. In 1974 it established a Committee on the Future of International Education which in 1978 became the Division of International Education. ACE has continued to be the major postsecondary group lobbying for international education. As an umbrella organization, its positions must be broad enough to include the full range of postsecondary institutions. Consequently, it has been a strong proponent of advanced training, but at the same time its task force on education for global interdependence recommended what later became the Section 603 citizen education grants.

Since 1974, ACE has sponsored a number of international education task forces that examined transnational research, overseas skills reinforcement, language training, advanced foreign area research, and business and international education. The recommendations of these task forces helped ACE formulate its legislative positions on international education and some of the recommendations like those from the business task force have subsequently been implemented by other groups.

ACE is regularly consulted by those Congressmen and their staffs sympathetic to international education. In fact, in the latest reauthori-

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[33]William F. Griswold, *The Image of the Middle East in Secondary School Textbooks*, Middle East Studies Association of America, Inc., New York, 1975.

[34]Recommendations for more effective use of the area studies associations are discussed in Chapter 6.

zation of Title VI, ACE representatives helped rewrite the Administration's bill in a version that subsequently passed the House and also participated in drafting the new Part B on business education. Like the major centers group, ACE does not wield sufficient influence in this area to get the Title VI program greatly expanded. But a majority of our national level respondents described ACE and its international education lobbyists as having been quite effective over the past decade. In essence, ACE is the focal point for all international education groups in higher education.

The Global Education Group

Several organizations representing state colleges, community colleges, and teacher training institutions felt that ACE was not adequately representing their interests in international education, so they established their own separate group. In hearings before the Subcommittee on International Operations in 1978, a representative of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities articulated this group's position. He criticized those who view international education as manpower development and talked about "developing cultural sensitivity" and "democratization of international education" as alternative ways of justifying federal support.[35]

The Global Education Group takes issue with those who argue that international education will trickle down through all of higher education if funds are spent on training specialists who will later teach in various types of institutions. This group maintains that undergraduate teaching cannot be internationalized through such an indirect mechanism: funds must be targeted specifically to those postsecondary institutions that lack area centers and that concentrate on undergraduate instruction. Some members of the Global Education Group also argue that national need for advanced specialists has now largely been met and the new rationale for Title VI should be an informed citizenry. The Global Education Group would like to use the accreditation process to force more institutions to internationalize their curriculum. They criticize the President Commission's report for not advocating more institutional reform through curriculum development, admissions policies, and the linking of international education to accreditation standards.

The Global Education Group would like to see DIE expend more

[35]U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, "Statement of Maurice Harari, Director of International Programs and Assistant Director of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities," *The Future of International Education*, hearings before the Subcommittee on International Operations of the Committee on International Relations, 95th Cong., 2d sess., p. 97.

effort on Title VI undergraduate projects. They criticize DIE for not identifying the factors that increase the probability of project continuation and for not disseminating information about successful projects. They suggested that DIE undertake these tasks internally or hire a consultant to prepare this information on a continuing basis. The group would also like to see DIE collect all the films and printed materials prepared with Title VI funds and store them in a central location for easier access by potential users.

The Global Education Group acknowledges that it is not yet an influential organization. The institutions it represents are diverse and many of them are not yet convinced of the need for international education. Hence, Global Education's task is as much an internal as an external one. The Group hopes that as elementary and secondary organizations become more interested in international education, their mutual interest in teacher training might prompt a coalition.

Other Postsecondary Interests in International Education

Although two centers and a project are currently funded at black colleges, few of these institutions have traditionally applied for Title VI funds. Recently the National Association for Equal Opportunity in Education, a group representing black colleges, has shown more interest in international education. The organization sponsored a panel on this subject at one of its recent meetings, and the group's leadership argues that black colleges deserve a larger share of Title VI program funding and that Title VI review panels have been biased against certain geographic regions and types of institutions like the traditional black colleges. The black colleges would like to see Title VI devote more of its funds to capacity building in institutions that currently lack the resources to operate international programs on their own.

Organizations representing professional schools have not been very interested in Title VI because of its traditional academic rather than applied perspective. Individual schools of agriculture, public health, engineering, and medicine, however, have involved their students in international education through participation in AID contracts. Other professional schools like the nation's business schools have moved to internationalize their curriculum because of an impetus from their accreditation organization. The American Assembly of Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) is both a peak organization and an accrediting agency. In the mid-70s, a group within AACSB was able to include the words "domestic and worldwide" in the organization's statement of what constitutes a business school curriculum. Since 1977 the AACSB

has sponsored faculty workshops across the country to assist business school faculty in internationalizing their curriculum. Approximately 500 faculty have participated in these workshops, partially funded by General Electric.

AACSB members also participated in the ACE task force on business and international education. One of the task force's recommendations was that AACSB interpret its accreditation standard for internationalizing business curriculum.[36] AACSB is now implementing this recommendation and is likely to require accredited schools to expose students to some international content as part of their training, although no one particular approach will be required.

With the inclusion of Part B in the new Title VI legislation, business schools are now one of the program's constituents. However, the impetus for this legislation did not come from the business schools but from ACE, Congressman Sam Gibbons, former Senator Jacob Javits, and Senator Robert Stafford who had a special concern about the U.S. economic position abroad. While some individual business schools have made little or no effort to internationalize their curriculum, AACSB has spearheaded what could become a major change because of the organization's accreditation authority. At the same time, this effort is being implemented completely independent of the nation's area centers. Again, this raises a basic question for the Title VI program: Can incentives be offered to motivate successful links between area centers and professional schools? This issue will be discussed at length in subsequent chapters, but currently little is being done by the national interest groups to address the problem.

At one level, then, the postsecondary groups like ACE and the area study associations try to support Title VI in as general a way as possible. They stress its various objectives equally and in effect, represent the lowest common denominator that all the group's constituencies can support. The centers group and the Global Education Group represent a major cleavage among the program's constituents. Currently, the major centers group is preeminent, but if Global Education can coalesce with emerging elementary and secondary interests the balance may shift. The group representing black colleges is interested in Title VI, but it has not lobbied hard in this area because of more pressing concerns about larger federal programs. Outside the immediate circle of program constituents are professional education groups like AACSB whose interests are parallel but not yet linked to Title VI.

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[36]American Council on Education, *Business and International Education*, a report submitted to the Government/Academic Interface Committee, Occasional Paper No. 4, International Education Project, Washington, D.C., May 1977, p. 5.

Elementary and Secondary Education Groups

Major elementary and secondary education groups like the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), the National Education Association (NEA), and the American Association of School Administrators (AASA) have not traditionally expressed a strong interest in international education. The primary targets of their lobbying have been large federal programs like ESEA and education for the handicapped, although they have recently taken a more active interest in international education. Another set of groups—for example, the Asia Society, Global Perspectives in Education (GPE), and the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS)—include international education for elementary and secondary students as an explicit organizational objective.

While these groups have their own specific interests, they have the same general concerns about federal support for international education. They feel that the President's Commission stressed advanced training and research at the expense of elementary and secondary programs. Out of the $178 million in recommended new funds, the Commission targeted only $17.5 million for elementary and secondary education. Some members of the President's Commission counter by arguing that elementary and secondary is primarily a state and local responsibility and that the federal role must be secondary. K-12 groups do not accept this conclusion and maintain that elementary and secondary has at least an equally legitimate claim with higher education to Title VI funds.

In particular, these groups believe that Section 603 funds should be targeted to school districts, teacher centers, and elementary and secondary groups, rather than disproportionately to postsecondary institutions, and that elementary and secondary education is not receiving its fair share of Title VI and Fulbright-Hays funds. They are concerned about the lack of international content at the K-12 level and the need for more extensive teacher training in international education.

They disagree, however, on some substantive issues like the role of language teaching. The NEA argues that foreign languages are best learned in the early years and that funds for language teaching should be redistributed from universities to school districts and teacher centers. Other groups like the Asia Society maintain that cultural and area studies need to precede language training. They point out that language study at the K-12 level is unlikely to be comprehensive because of fiscal constraints. Therefore, students should first be exposed to cultural studies and then later to language instruction. GPE also makes a special point of accommodating global education to existing curriculum because it feels teachers are already overburdened. Conse-

quently, GPE shows teachers how to integrate global materials into existing humanities, social studies, and even science courses.

Although the elementary and secondary groups differ on some issues, they are in complete agreement about K-12's claim to a larger share of Title VI allocations. They argue that citizen knowledge of international affairs should be at least as important a federal objective as specialist training. Until now, these groups have not been very influential because powerful ones like NEA and AFT have not considered international education a major organizational priority and other groups represent only a limited constituency. However, their concern over the President's Commission report has prompted some of these groups to begin working informally with each other. If this type of coordinated action continues, elementary and secondary groups could become a formidable counterpoise to traditional postsecondary interests in international education.

The Foreign Language Associations

A number of associations represent foreign language teachers; the best-known is the Modern Language Association (MLA) whose membership includes English teachers (two-thirds of the members) as well as those teaching foreign languages. Slavic, French, Spanish and Portuguese, Italian, and German teachers all have their own separate organizations, and there are also several peak associations like the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL). Most of the members of these organizations teach the commonly taught languages either at the high school level or in smaller colleges.

These groups limit their participation in Title VI to language surveys and the development of instructional materials under Section 602 research grants. In advocating increased federal support for international education, language associations are primarily interested in greater support for the commonly taught languages in elementary and secondary schools. They argue that the crisis which existed in 1958 because of a lack of U.S. expertise in uncommon languages now applies to the common languages like French and German. Agreeing with elementary and secondary groups, some language associations argue that the President's Commission report focused disproportionately on advanced training. One language association representative described the Commission's focus as "redecorating the upper rooms when the lower rooms are unfurnished."

Faced with a major decline in foreign language enrollments, the

MLA took the initiative several years ago and formed a number of task forces to recommend changes in language study.[37] Some of the task force recommendations like one for a National Criteria and Assessment Program were later incorporated into the President's Commission report.[38] In another effort to increase support for language training, twelve language associations recently formed an umbrella organization called the Joint National Committee for Language, opened a Washington office, and will lobby for additional legislation to benefit foreign language study.

The language teachers associations have not traditionally been a highly visible or politically powerful group. But chronic low enrollments in language study and the Presidents' Commission have presented them with an opportunity to lobby for more federal support. Their recently formed coalition is a first step. These organizations are also beginning to work with elementary and secondary groups and with the area studies associations.

This overview of program constituents helps explain why specialist training has remained the primary aim of Title VI and why, at the same time, the program has expanded to include new objectives. By virtue of their status and longevity, the major centers constitute the most influential Title VI group. But other groups have succeeded in becoming visible enough to secure at least token participation in Title VI. The Title VI legislation enacted in 1980 will further institutionalize the gains of non-center groups. However, political expediency is not a guarantee of program effectiveness and, in fact, often works against it. Whether a modestly-funded program like Title VI can effectively meet these diverse objectives still needs to be considered.

THE CHANGING CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

Postsecondary institutions, the primary vehicle for international studies in this country, are facing very different problems than they did in 1958 when NDEA was first enacted. Our recent foreign policy crises and concern over the adequacy of foreign language training are also issues that shape current discussions about federal support for international education.

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[37]Richard I. Brod (ed.), *Language Study for the 1980s, Reports of the MLA-ACLS Language Task Forces*, Modern Language Association, New York, 1980.

[38]*Strength Through Wisdom*, op. cit., p. 13.

Altered Demand for Area Specialists

The Senate Committee report for the original NDEA legislation noted that in 1956 a total of 1196 teaching positions at American colleges and universities remained unfilled.[39] Current demographic trends have completely reversed this situation. After the unprecedented growth of the late 1950s and 1960s, American postsecondary institutions now face contraction in both their enrollments and financial resources. Over the next decade demand for new area specialists will consist largely of replacing faculty as they leave or retire.[40] Because of present financial constraints, intrauniversity competition for existing resources will intensify. Consequently, university administrators and department heads may decide not to replace retiring international studies faculty. These positions may remain unfilled or may be shifted to fields that are more likely to attract large student enrollments.[41]

Estimates of the exact level of underemployment among area studies doctoral graduates are unreliable because no systematic data have been collected.[42] However, with the exception of a few disciplines like economics, adjustments need to be made in the number of students admitted for graduate training and in their career expectations.

The transition to government and business—the obvious alternatives to academic employment for area specialists—may be difficult. First, it is unclear whether government and business employers can absorb the current surplus of area specialists. A recent Rand study found that American firms conducting business abroad tend to rely on foreign nationals for language and area skills. In the fifty large firms interviewed, fewer than three per thousand of their overseas employees are Americans.[43] The government sector also has enough specialists and is more concerned with their quality than quantity. In the view of managers at the CIA, State Department, and the National Security Council, the major weakness among current employees is a lack of language training and analytical skills.[44] Still, unsystematic and

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[39]U.S. Congress, Senate, *National Defense Education Act of 1958*, Report from the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Report No. 2242, 85th Cong., 2d sess., p. 16.

[40]Elinor G. Barber and Warren Ilchman, *International Studies Review*, The Ford Foundation, New York, May 1979, p. 29

[41]Sue E. Berryman, Paul F. Langer, John Pincus, and Richard H. Solomon, *Foreign Language and International Studies Specialists: The Marketplace and Public Policy*, The Rand Corporation, R-2501-NEH, Santa Monica, September 1979, p. 58.

[42]The second phase of this project, to be completed in May 1982, includes a survey of 1500 area specialists who received their Ph.D.s between 1967 and 1979. The survey will focus on employment trends and the match between training and subsequent employment.

[43]Berryman et al., op. cit., pp. xii-xiii.

[44]James R. Ruchti, "The U.S. Government Employment of Foreign Area and Interna-

largely anecdotal data indicate that business and government have employed some of the specialists who would have traditionally taught in universities. In fact, the current employment situation provides the federal government with an opportunity to upgrade its overall analytic capacity, and demand for area specialists may grow as the United States penetrates new markets (e.g., China) and business support services include new functions like political risk analysis.

However, even if sufficient demand for area specialists is created, a second problem remains. Universities are still training area specialists for teaching and advanced research not for more applied employment. Chapter 2 on area centers indicates that few universities encourage students to include policy analysis, econometrics, or any professional courses as part of their training. Even though OE has encouraged Title VI-funded centers to establish links with professional schools, few have done so. Most professional schools adhere to a fairly rigid curriculum and have no trouble placing their graduates in suitable employment. Consequently, there is little incentive for professional faculties and their students to assume the additional burden of language and area studies.

As a result of demographic changes, then, area studies needs to shift some of its efforts away from academic concerns and begin to train students for business and government employment. This transition will not be an easy one: the needs and incentives of each sector are quite different, and university faculty must first convince themselves that nonacademic employment is an acceptable alternative for their students.

The Effect of Fiscal Constraints on International Studies

The declining financial position of postsecondary institutions has hurt language and area studies in several ways. First, international studies depends heavily on university library collections. East Asian language materials housed in U.S. research libraries increased from 400,000 volumes in 1930 to 6.7 million by 1975. In the ten years between 1963 and 1973, Princeton tripled its Arabic holdings, and Harvard's increased from 10,000 items to 40,000 in the same period.[45] But these resources are now in jeopardy. Even the largest and best-funded university libraries are struggling to maintain a minimum

tional Studies Specialists," in *President's Commission*, op. cit., pp. 187-220, and Berryman et al., op. cit., pp. xiv-xv.

[45]Berryman et al., op. cit., p. 68.

level of acquisitions, and smaller ones must reduce their future collections drastically. This situation will worsen when federal PL 480 funds are terminated next year.[46] Library acquisitions are always one of the most vulnerable items in university budgets. But language and area studies are particularly hard-hit because of the high cost of relevant materials and the decline in the dollar's exchange rate abroad.

Language instruction is also particularly vulnerable in a time of fiscal retrenchment. Often enrollments in the less commonly taught languages like Arabic, Hindi-Urdu, and Hausa are small, particularly at advanced levels, and university administrators find it increasingly difficult to justify these small classes to trustees and state legislatures. Hence, we found that area centers often depend on external funds like Title VI to maintain a teaching capacity in low enrollment languages.

A final effect of fiscal stringency is, of course, the inability to recruit new faculty. Barber and Ilchman estimate that 78 percent of the international studies faculty at major research universities are tenured.[47] Since universities can afford little or no new hiring, it is difficult to expand the scope of area studies or change its present focus. Consequently, it has become increasingly important to maintain the capacity of existing area specialists since so little new blood will be entering the university system over the next decade. But the resources to maintain that capacity are also declining: available research support from both internal university funds and external sources like Fulbright-Hays, the Social Science Research Council (SSRC), and the Japan Foundation cannot meet the current needs of language and area faculty.[48] Our fieldwork at area centers indicated that while senior faculty have little difficulty in obtaining support for research abroad, junior faculty are going abroad less often and for shorter periods of time. Hence, the ability to maintain the competence of existing specialists is decreasing while their average age is increasing and faculty turnover remains minimal.

In sum, language and area studies are suffering from declining enrollment and fewer resources much like the rest of postsecondary education. A similar situation in elementary and secondary education hampers the move to expand international education at that level. Generally speaking, education is entering a period of retrenchment, and the future of international studies may very well depend on faculty capacity to adapt to such change.

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[46]PL 480 supports university library acquisitions through excess foreign currencies generated from the sale of U.S. agricultural commodities. Currently, PL 480 funds are available for library purchases in Egypt, India, and Pakistan.

[47]Barber amd Ilchman, op. cit., p. 18.

[48]Ibid., p. 70.

Renewed Interest in Language and Area Studies

In the earlier Rand report on language and area specialists, the authors make a distinction between need for specialists as defined by market demand and as expressed by supply shortages. Independent of market conditions, people can express a normative belief that more specialists are needed for national security, enrichment, or other reasons.[49] This belief in the "desirable" is separate from one's ability or willingness to pay for an item. Such a distinction helps to explain why, in a time of lowered demand for area specialists, there is also growing concern about the quality and extent of language training and about the ability of area specialists to inform U.S. foreign policy decisions.

"Americans' scandalous incompetence in foreign languages" was a major focus of the President's Commission Report. The Commission noted that only a small minority of American high school students (15 percent) study a foreign language at even an elementary level, and the number of colleges requiring a foreign language for admission has declined from 34 percent in 1966 to 8 percent.[50] The Commission then argued that this lack of foreign language competency also explains Americans' inadequate understanding of world affairs.[51] Rand found in its study for the President's Commission that while student enrollments in the uncommon languages have risen fivefold since 1959, many criticize the quality of that training. They argue that academic language training provides students with reading knowledge, but not with conversational fluency.[52] However, any significant change in either the extent or method of language teaching would depend on a massive commitment of new resources. Thus far, the arguments in favor of such an effort have not been sufficiently compelling to counteract existing fiscal constraints.

Since Title VI's primary objective has traditionally been the production of specialists who can inform U.S. foreign policy decisions, the recent Middle Eastern crises provide a backdrop against which to assess this aspect of the program. Our fieldwork interviews indicate that area center faculty are consulted by the White House and the State Department. These same specialists also serve as resource persons for the news media. Yet there is mounting evidence that the government's use of Middle Eastern experts has been neither systematic nor timely. A recent article in *Science* concluded, "It could perhaps be said of America's Iranian scholars that seldom have so few known so much and

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[49]Berryman et al., p. 16.
[50]*Strength Through Wisdom*, op. cit., p. 7.
[51]Ibid., p. 7.
[52]Berryman et al., op. cit., pp. 51-52.

been so little consulted."[53] A detailed analysis of the Shah's fall from power indicates that critical information about Ayatollah Khomeini was relayed to the State Department by a faculty member at a Title VI-funded center. Yet this information appears to have been ignored.[54] Obviously, the whole issue of the use of experts in foreign policy decisionmaking is beyond the scope of this report. As the earlier Rand report noted: "... so many factors go into the attainment or failure of a national objective that it is virtually impossible to point a finger at either the importance or the inconsequentiality of specialists to the outcome."[55] But it is clear that a number of structural and political factors within government make the original aims of Title VI difficult to achieve in practice.

The absence of a direct link between specialist training and a more informed foreign policy can also be attributed to the specialists themselves. In fact, one critic of area centers recently argued that "Whatever the causes, it is probably fair to say that the emergence of large numbers of area specialists has not led to large improvements in U.S. foreign policy."[56] We found in talking with faculty at area centers that their own training often makes it difficult for them to translate scholarly research into an applied format useful to policymakers. This is particularly true for humanities faculty who presently dominate some of the largest Middle Eastern centers. Perhaps the lesson to be learned from this crisis is not that more area specialists are needed, but that better links need to be established between academia and government. Clearly there are invaluable resources on tap at various area centers. But governmental agencies need to use outside expertise on a more effective and continuing basis. At the same time, academics must be willing to adapt their scholarly work to the needs of decisionmakers.

Despite the declining demand for language and area specialists, interest in the quality of foreign language teaching and the ability of foreign policy officials to use available area studies expertise is increasing. At this point, however, it is unlikely that this renewed interest in language and area studies will translate into anything more than a modest increase in Title VI funding.

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[53]Nicholas Wade, "Vance, in Last Act Turned to Iran Scholars," *Science*, Vol. 208, May 16, 1980, p. 687.

[54]Michael A. Ledeen and William H. Lewis, "Carter and the Fall of the Shah: The Inside Story," *The Washington Quarterly*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Spring 1980, p. 10.

[55]Berryman et al., op. cit., p. xviii.

[56]Robert E. Klitgaard, "On Reviewing International Studies," Number 81D, Discussion Paper Series, John Fitzgerald Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, February 1980, p. 7.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: POLICY OPTIONS FOR FEDERAL SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

The legislative history of Title VI chronicles its expansion from a program of narrowly defined purpose and activities to one that encompasses the broad range of international education. At the same time, Title VI remains a modestly funded program with limited visibility in Congress and the Executive Branch. Title VI objectives broadened largely because of demands from new constituencies. The changing context of international education and lowered demand for area specialists make maintenance of existing specialists and internationalizing professional education two additional policy alternatives that need to be considered. The trade-offs between specialist training and general diffusion constitute the basic policy dilemma for Title VI, but subsumed under each of these options are several other choices that can be made. These various alternatives can be summarized as follows:

Training of Specialists	General Diffusion of International Knowledge
• Maintenance of existing stock vs. training new specialists	• Target funds to higher education vs. K-12
• Professional vs. academic training	• Language training vs. cultural and global studies
• Concentration of funds in major research universities vs. broader distribution	• Maintain primarily academic focus vs. shift to include new clientele (e.g., business, general citizen groups)
• World area vs. topical focus	

Given existing and proposed legislation, it is unrealistic to assume that Title VI will revert to solely a specialist training program in the near future. Nevertheless, recent budget deliberations indicate that Congress and the Executive Branch have considerable flexibility in how they allocate resources among program components. While policymakers may be unable to choose between the two basic policy alternatives, they can determine the relative emphasis assigned to each. They can also shape future program directions by the more specific choices they make within each basic option.

The next four chapters assess the separate program components of Title VI and provide data that can be used in choosing among available

policy options. As with most policy decisions, these choices are not entirely empirical ones. For example, data indicating that a high proportion of undergraduate projects continue after federal funding stops may be necessary to justify continuation of the program. But such data are not enough. Policymakers must also make the normative or political decision that supporting general undergraduate education is an appropriate federal role.

Consequently, in assessing Title VI we first need to consider the basic evaluation question: Do current program activities meet Title VI objectives as articulated by Congress? Thus, we need to determine:

- Whether area centers are training specialists that meet existing government, business, and academic needs.
- How Title VI research grants affect foreign language instruction.
- Whether an international studies project provides sufficient incentive for an institution to internationalize its general curriculum.
- Whether a program objective like greater citizen awareness of international issues is a realistic one given current funding levels and program activities.

However, there remains the overriding question of whether current program objectives constitute an appropriate federal role. As we have seen, the notion of an appropriate federal role has changed over time and depends on interest group activities, the larger domestic and foreign policy environment, and policymakers' own views.

This evaluation, then, can answer the empirical question of whether Title VI is an effective program given its current objectives, activities, and resources. It can also indicate the trade-offs involved in stressing one program objective over another. But the question of whether current program objectives are legitimate depends on how one views the federal role. Yet as we shall see, this political question is a critical one if choices are to be made and more than token federal support given to the various aspects of international education.

Chapter 2

THE NDEA TITLE VI CENTERS PROGRAM

The bulk of Title VI funds have traditionally supported the area centers program. In FY 1980, eighty-seven centers (at 56 institutions) were funded at a total cost of about $8 million.[1] Individual grants ranged from $30,000 to $174,500 (for a two institution consortium) and were awarded on the basis of a national competition. These eighty-seven centers represent only a small fraction of the approximately 640 foreign area programs now operating in U.S. colleges and universities.[2] However, the majority of these non-Title VI-funded programs are small and lack the faculty, student, and library resources of the larger, more well-established programs that are more likely to receive Title VI funds.[3] In other words, the Title VI centers are not representative of all area programs. As a group these centers train more students, particularly at advanced levels, and have more resources at their disposal. At the same time, precisely because they train so many of the nation's language and area specialists and represent the highest quality programs, an examination of the Title VI centers can provide a picture of perhaps the most critical segment of the nation's international studies resources.

This chapter has three basic purposes: to describe the Title VI centers—their functions, how they relate to the larger university, and their role in training students; to identify problems that area centers currently face and assess their ability to cope with them; and to discuss OE operations and their effect on the Title VI area centers program.

Our assessment of the centers in the context of the Title VI program considers these questions:

- To what extent do area centers as a group further the Title VI program goals of specialist training and general diffusion of international knowledge?
- What would be lost if these centers no longer existed or were allowed to decline in size and resources?

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[1]Since twelve of the funded centers are consortia involving more than one center, 103 individual centers actually received Title VI funds during FY 80.

[2]*Foreign Area Programs at North American Universities: A Directory*, California Institute of Public Affairs, Claremont, California, 1979.

[3]Besides the 87 centers that are presently funded, an additional 34 centers entered the 1979 competition for Title VI funds.

- Are present OE policies toward area centers the most effective way to promote program goals?

The first question focuses on the purpose of area centers and asks whether Title VI program goals can be adequately accommodated within the present organizational structure and ongoing functions of these centers. Of particular importance is the degree to which center-related training answers the current needs of education, government, and business. Another issue is whether the enrichment goals of Title VI can be met within the center framework or whether new structures and approaches are necessary if this is to remain a program goal.

In many ways, the centers are an artifact of Title VI and earlier Ford Foundation funding. Originally established as a mechanism for receiving and allocating outside funds, they have continued with little reassessment of their structure or role.[4] Consequently, it now seems a good idea to consider the second question and identify what would be lost if these organizational entities disappeared or were weakened. In other words, are there other mechanisms better suited to meet the needs of international studies on college and university campuses?

The final question relates both to OE administrative policies and the extent to which OE actions encourage centers to meet Title VI program goals. We look at the equity and credibility of the panel review process, the timeliness of funds disbursement, and the appropriateness of reporting requirements and OE site visits. In examining OE's substantive policies we want to know how effectively it has used available incentives. Because of the way the Title VI legislation was drafted, grant recipients have considerable flexibility in how they use Title VI funds. At the same time, OE has levers available that can motivate centers to move in new or different directions. For example, OE has discretion over the review criteria used in funding competitions and in the amount of money individual centers receive. Consequently, we need to assess how well OE has used available incentives despite constraints on its programmatic authority.

In addressing these questions we take what some may consider a utilitarian perspective. Rather than focus on the intellectual achievements of language and area studies over the past twenty years, we emphasize the relationship between student training and subsequent

[4]In a recent article, Richard Lambert notes how unquestioning most international studies advocates have been in continuing to espouse the area center as the "major organizational device for carrying on international studies activities." Lambert suggests that centers be reexamined in light of all their functions, not just specialist training. Richard D. Lambert, "International Studies: An Overview and Agenda," *New Directions in International Education, The Annals*, Vol. 449, May 1980, pp. 154-155.

employment. We chose this perspective for several reasons. First, the intellectual contribution of area studies has been well documented in other places and by those better qualified than us to address the issue. Second, we have assumed that while undergraduate education can be viewed in purely enrichment terms, the purpose of graduate training is ultimately employment. Consequently, we use subsequent employment of graduate students as one criterion to evaluate area centers and relevant academic departments. Finally, such a perspective is warranted given the original aims of the Title VI legislation and the purpose of this study. We need to determine the extent to which area centers and related academic departments train specialists who can meet the needs of education, business, and government.

The analysis presented in this chapter is based on fieldwork at 25 Title VI-funded centers[5] selected as representative of the 103 centers currently receiving Title VI funds. Selection criteria included: world area, center type (comprehensive/undergraduate, world area/international, and consortium/nonconsortium), center age, region of the country, whether located at a public or private institution, and panel review ratings in the 1979 centers competition. We interviewed the center director, affiliated faculty members, university administrators, and a group of students at each center. (Appendix A describes in greater detail how centers were selected, our data collection procedures, and the methods by which center data were aggregated and analyzed.)

We chose to base our examination of the centers program on fieldwork rather than survey data. We wanted to understand the larger institutional context within which centers operate because many of the difficulties currently facing international studies are part of the larger problems confronting higher education. We also knew that an area center's effectiveness depends greatly on its relationship with the university administration and with disciplinary departments on campus. To probe these relationships we needed to spend considerable time with the center director (approximately three hours) so a phone or mail questionnaire was inappropriate. We also needed an open-ended instrument so that interviewers could pursue new lines of inquiry and validate among respondents. Although this method results in the proverbial trade-offs between breadth and depth, we are confident that we have tapped the major dimensions along which centers vary and

[5]Throughout this chapter we count each center that received Title VI funds separately even though ten are in consortia of two centers each. Thus, we visited 20 funded entities (by OE's definition) that include a total of 25 individual centers. These 25 centers are located at 23 different institutions.

that despite the idiosyncrasies of individual centers, we present an accurate picture of Title VI centers.

This chapter focuses on five issues: center functions; the vulnerability of these functions to the loss of the center as an organizational entity or to a decline in its resource base; the relationship of centers to the larger university context and to consortia partners; the problems facing two major center functions, student training and outreach; and finally, center relationships with OE.

CENTERS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

Center Organization

The term "center" encompasses a wide variety of organizational structures ranging from academic departments to "paper" organizations established mainly to receive external funding. The centers we visited fall into three broad categories. One type is superimposed on an academic department (e.g., a Near Eastern Studies Department) and includes faculty from both the humanities and social sciences. Another type is virtually synonymous with one or two departments that represent single disciplines (e.g., a Slavic Language and Literature Department). Finally, a center may be a coordinating committee consisting of area and language faculty from a range of disciplines (e.g., history, language, economics, anthropology). Each faculty member is hired by and works in his or her own academic department, but participates in center activities on a voluntary basis.

This last type is the most common for the centers in our sample; yet within this group, centers differ greatly in the extent to which they are an institutionalized part of the larger university. Some centers have neither a unique purpose nor independent stature in the eyes of related faculty and university administrators. Other centers, however, are older and have become independent campus sub-units with considerable status.

For its purposes, OE does not classify centers according to organizational differences but rather by their area or topical focus and by whether or not they provide comprehensive as opposed to primarily undergraduate training. Title VI centers are funded in eleven world areas with an additional group funded as international centers.[6] Rather

[6]The eleven world areas include: Africa, East Asia, Latin America, South Asia, Southeast Asia, Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Western Europe, Canada, Inner Asia, and the Pacific Islands. Because so few centers are funded in the last three categories, they were not included in our fieldwork sample.

than focusing on one world area, the international centers are often topical in nature (e.g., world food issues, technology transfer to developing nations). Such centers can constitute an entire school like the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy or simply be an administrative sub-unit much like an area center.

Sixteen of the centers funded in FY 80 are undergraduate centers, with the remaining 86 centers considered to be comprehensive (i.e., engaged in training at the B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. levels). Twenty-nine of the funded centers are in consortia; all the consortia, except one that has five centers as part of it, include two centers each. Table 2.1 shows the distribution of FY 80 Title VI centers by world area, and comprehensive vs. undergraduate focus.

Table 2.1

NDEA Title VI Centers by World Area and Type, 1979-80

World Area	Type of Center		Total
	Comprehensive	Undergraduate	
Africa	10	0	10
East Asia	14	8	22
South Asia	7	2	9
Southeast Asia	5	0	5
Middle East	11	1	12
Latin America	14	2	16
Soviet Union and Eastern Europe	11	2	13
Western Europe	3	0	3
Other[a]	5	0	5
International	7	1	8
Total	87	16	103

[a]Includes centers focusing on Canada (3), Uralic and Inner Asia (1), and Pacific Islands (1).

Our fieldwork sample includes 23 language and area centers and two international centers.[7] Of the area centers, 19 are comprehensive

[7]Unless we explicitly distinguish between the two, the remainder of this chapter treats area centers only. Because the within-group variation is so great for international centers, it is difficult to make any general conclusions based on the two we visited. Even more than area centers, the international centers differ greatly in their purpose, focus, and organizational structure. Because the international centers also differ significantly from area centers, it is inappropriate to treat the two as the same type of unit. We do use the international center data to determine tentatively what difference, if any, a more topical or vocational focus makes in center activities and the effect these activities have on such outcomes as employment of graduates.

and four are undergraduate centers. Ten are in consortia of two centers each.

Center Budgets

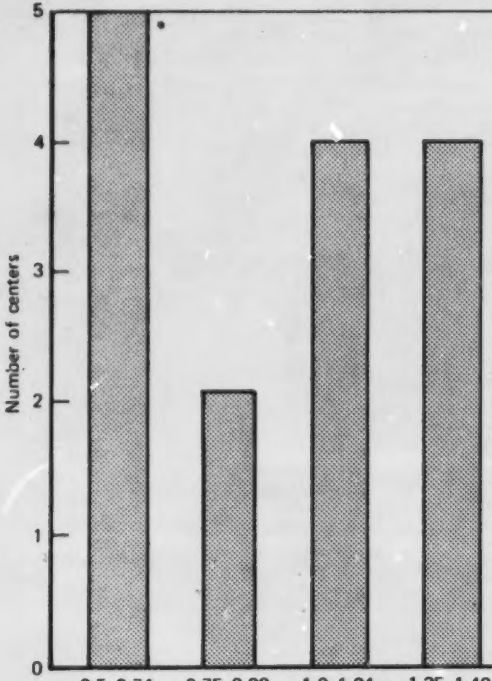
To apply for Title VI funding a center must submit a budget showing how much its university contributes to center-related activities and personnel. For all centers the largest item is faculty salaries, with library acquisitions a distant second; other smaller budget categories include support personnel, center outreach, and enrichment activities like faculty travel and sponsorship of conferences. The center reports on resources which contribute to research and training in a given world area, but they are often not under the center's control. University funds for faculty salaries, with a few rare exceptions, are controlled by academic departments and at the discretion of these departments may be moved to positions in other world areas or out of international studies altogether. Likewise, the library acquisition budget is nominally influenced by the center director in that he or she can make recommendations about its use. However, actual fiscal control resides with the library. Unless it is an academic department or has been given faculty lines of its own, a center controls only those university funds available for support personnel (e.g., a center secretary or administrative assistant), outreach, and enrichment.

With this caveat in mind, we can begin to talk about center budgets. The sampled area centers vary in the absolute size of their budgets, their funding sources (university, OE, and external sources such as foundations and private sector firms), the budget proportions contributed by different sources, and the activities funded by OE and by the university. As Figure 2.1 shows, total center budgets vary from $0.5 million to $2.5 million. The average is $1.292 million.

When all the FY 80 budgets for our sample centers are aggregated, we find that on average universities contribute 91 percent to center budgets, with Title VI funds contributing 6 percent, and other external sources 3 percent.[8] This rather significant decrease in the Title VI contribution as compared with the findings of an OE staff report showing that in 1978-79 the Title VI contribution averaged 9.1 percent of center budgets[9] can be partly explained by the nature of our sample. Forty percent of these centers are in consortia as compared with 28 percent for the center population as a whole. The presence of two or

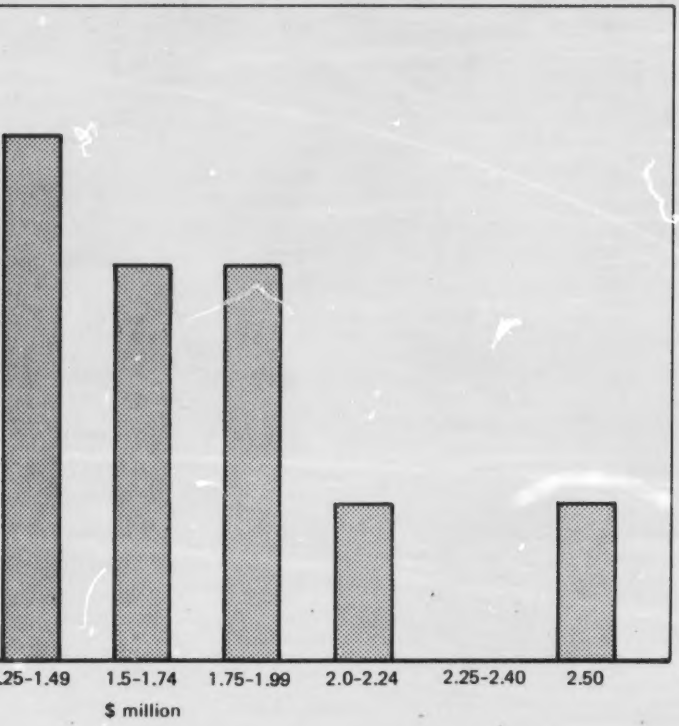
[8]The Title VI contribution discussed here does not include FLAS fellowship funds which are also allocated to centers. This Title VI program component is described in Chapter 3.

[9]Schneider, op. cit., p. 169.



* Includes all undergraduate centers in sample.

Fig. 2.1—1979-80 NDEA Titl



EA Title VI sample area centers: Total budgets

more universities in a consortia means that the university contribution increases disproportionately to the Title VI contribution, which never equals what the two centers would receive if they obtained Title VI funding individually. However, we believe that this decrease in the Title VI contribution is not just an artifact of our sample and is largely explained by the fact that in 1978-79 ED funded 80 center groups as compared with 1979-80 when it funded 87 for the same amount of money. Not only is the real value of Title VI funds decreasing, but in the last competition this money was spread among a greater number of centers. In fact, the 103 centers that received Title VI funds during the last fiscal year almost equals the 106 funded in the early 1970s.

The average budget for all centers masks considerable variation, however. Figures 2.2 through 2.4 show the variation across centers in

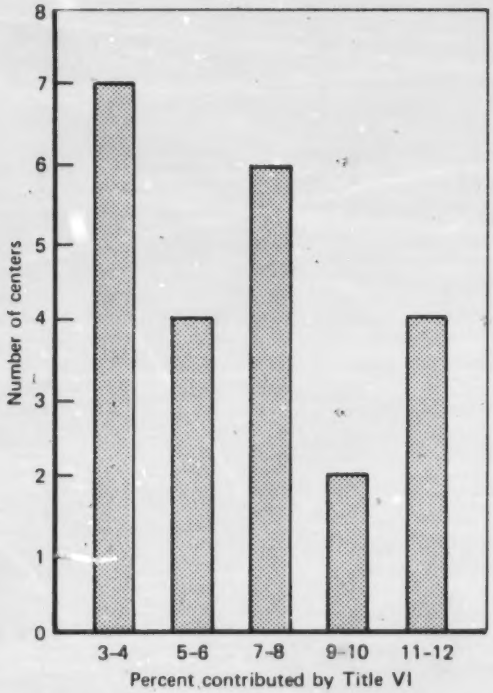


Fig. 2.2—1979-80 NDEA Title VI sample area centers: Variation in Title VI contribution to center budgets

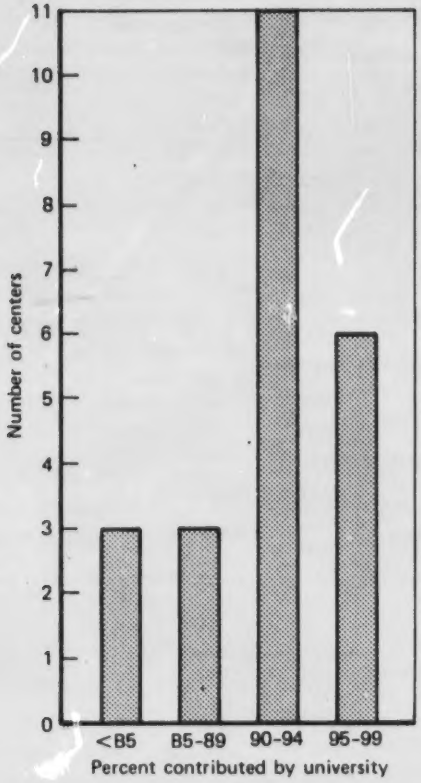


Fig. 2.3—1979-80 NDEA Title VI sample area centers: Variation in university contribution to center budgets

the budget proportion contributed by each funding source. OE provided from 3 percent to 12 percent of the money for these activities. Universities contributed from 62 to 97 percent to center budgets. Slightly more than half of the sampled centers receive external funds that range from $2000 to $350,000 annually, with a median of $36,667.

As Figures 2.5 and 2.6 show, universities primarily fund teaching and library activities (library staff and acquisitions), and OE funds a broader range of activities—teaching, library, support personnel, outreach, and enrichment, including workshops, speakers, seminars, and travel. In other words, universities vary less in their allocations than centers do in their distribution of ED funds by activity.

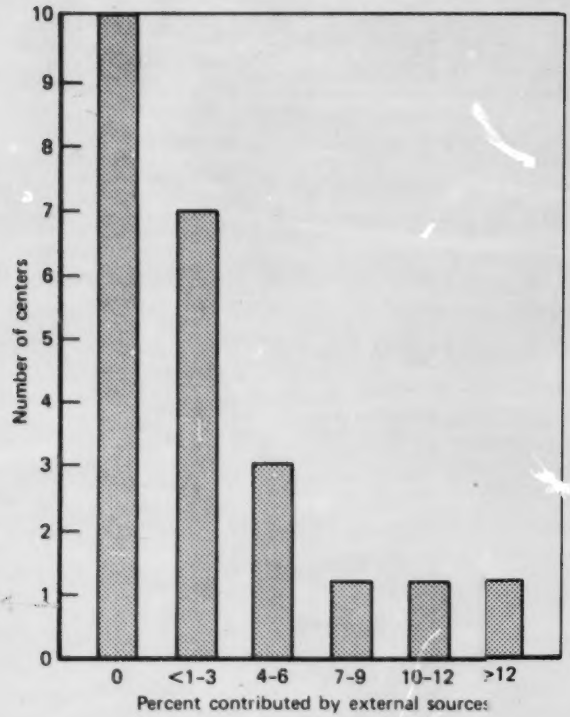


Fig. 2.4—1979-80 NDEA Title VI sample area centers: Variation in external contribution to center budgets

Figure 2.7 shows university and Title VI contributions as a percent of all university and Title VI funds spent on each center activity. Figure 2.7 excludes the external funds portion of center budgets and therefore shows only the relative contributions of two of the three potential sources of center funds. Although 35 percent of OE funds go for faculty salaries, these funds cover only 4 percent of the total salaries attributable to teaching in the centers' world areas. Figure 2.7 also shows the "margin" that OE funds provide for world area libraries (an average of 12 percent) and the relative dependence of outreach and enrichment activities on Title VI funds (an average of 64 percent and 39 percent, respectively).

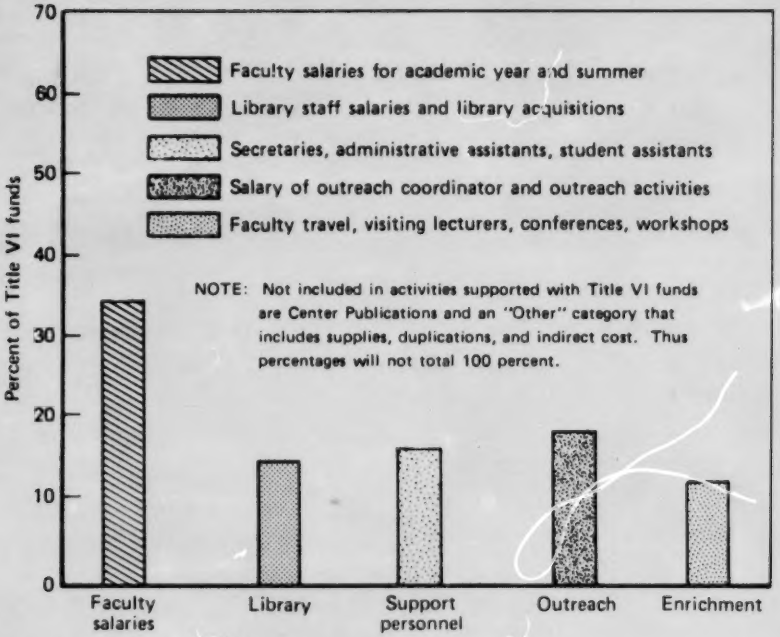

Percent of Title VI funds
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Faculty salaries for academic year and summer
Library staff salaries and library acquisitions
Secretaries, administrative assistants, student assistants
Salary of outreach coordinator and outreach activities
Faculty travel, visiting lecturers, conferences, workshops
NOTE: Not included in activities supported with Title VI funds are Center Publications and an "Other" category that includes supplies, duplications, and indirect cost. Thus percentages will not total 100 percent.
Faculty salaries
Library
Support personnel
Outreach
Enrichment

Fig. 2.5—FY 80 NDEA Title VI sample area centers: Allocation of Title VI funds by activity

Center Faculty

Both the Title VI legislation and subsequent program regulations have stressed that centers should incorporate a wide range of academic disciplines. However, for a number of reasons that are discussed later in this chapter, some world areas have been unable to achieve a balance in the disciplinary representation of center faculty.

Table 2.2 shows the distribution of area center faculty by disciplinary or professional school affiliation and by world area. As this table indicates, humanities faculties (i.e, those in language, literature, history, art, music, and linguistics) constitute at least 50 percent of the area faculties in four of the eight world areas: East Asia (68 percent), South Asia (51 percent), Near East (59 percent), and Russia and East

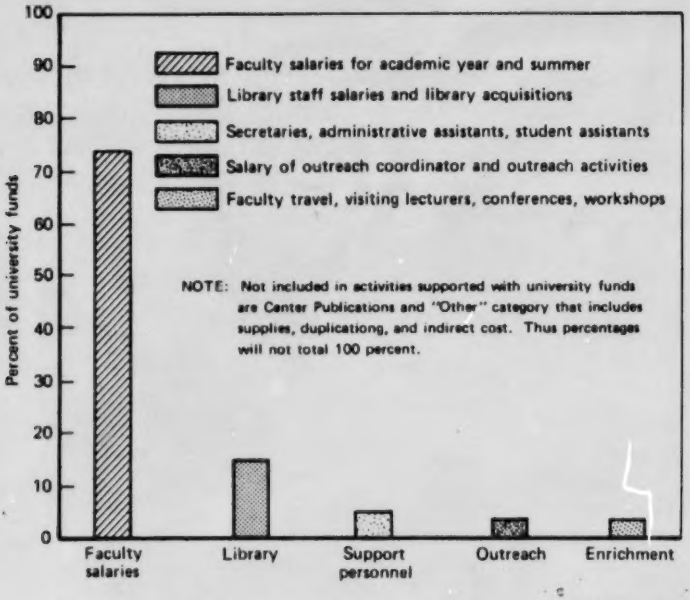


Fig. 2.6—FY 80 NDEA Title VI sample area centers: Allocation of university funds by activity

Europe (71 percent).[10] The humanities orientation of half of the world areas becomes important in connection with the employment of area specialists from these disciplines (see Figure 3.2 in Chapter 3).[11] This issue is also discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

[10]Three world areas in the fieldwork sample include a small number of centers: Africa (2), Southeast Asia (1), and Western Europe (2). However, the data in Table 2.2 include 77 faculty members in African studies, 35 in Southeast studies, and 32 specializing in Western Europe.

[11]The predominance of humanities faculty at Title VI area centers is consistent with Lambert's earlier finding about area studies programs. Using the number of course months devoted to a discipline (in effect, a proxy for number of faculty teaching in a given discipline), Lambert found that in 40 percent of the programs he surveyed, literature had the highest number of course months devoted to it. This was followed by history, the predominant discipline in one-third of the programs. Lambert, *Language and Area Studies Review, The Annals*, Monograph 17 of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, October 1973, Philadelphia, p. 258.

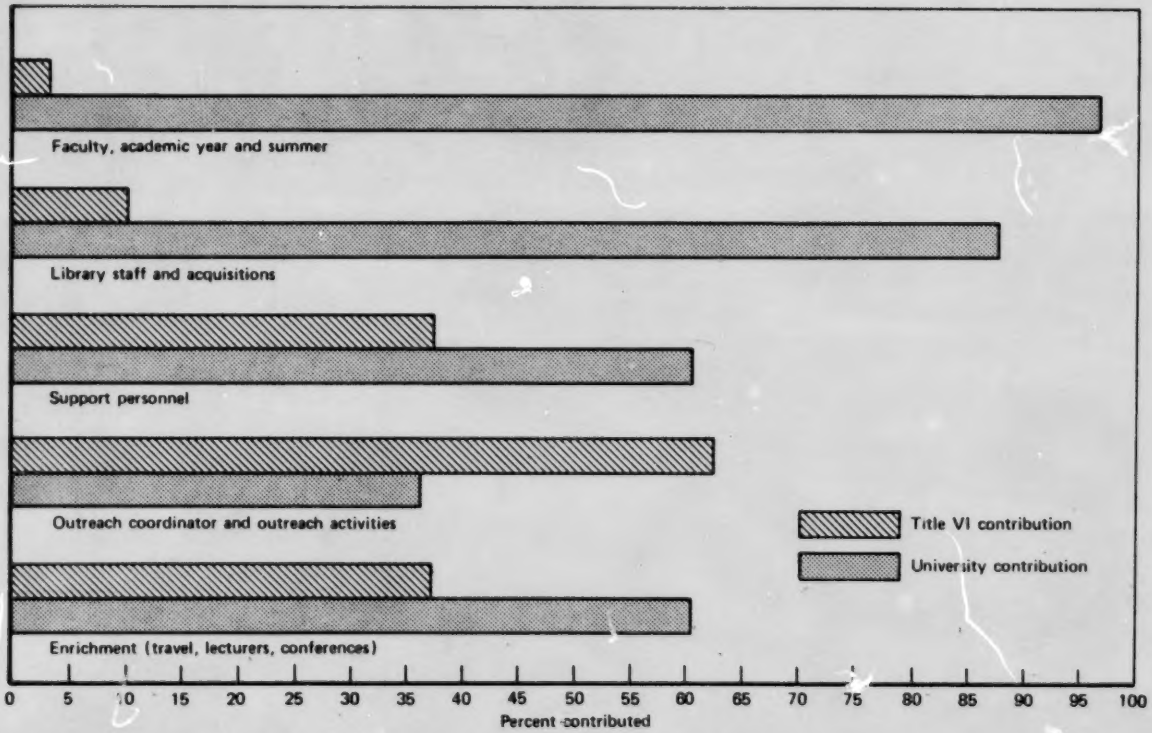

Faculty, academic year and summer
Library staff and acquisitions
Support personnel
Outreach coordinator and outreach activities
Enrichment (travel, lecturers, conferences)
Title VI contribution
University contribution
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80 85 90 95 100
Percent contributed

Fig. 2.7—1979-80 NDEA Title VI sample area centers: Title VI and university contributions as a percent of total Title VI and university funds spent on each activity

Table 2.2

NDEA Title VI Sample Area Centers: Percent of Faculty by Discipline and World Area, 1979-80

World Area	Percent of Faculty in Discipline			
	Humanities	Social Sciences	Professional[a]	Physical Sciences[b]
Africa	49	30	19	3
East Asia	68	23	10	0
South Asia	51	27	22	0
Southeast Asia	40	46	14	0
Middle East	59	36	5	0
Latin America	37	44	16	5
Soviet Union and Eastern Europe	71	24	5	0
Western Europe	33	60	7	0
Mean	55	34	11	1

NOTE: Figures do not always add to 100 percent because of rounding error.

[a]Includes agriculture and agricultural economics, business education, journalism, law, library science, architecture and environmental design, medicine, conservation and research in environmental planning and population planning, public health, design, technology, forestry.

[b]Includes geology, biology, zoology, and "either."

Although OE has encouraged center and professional school links, of the sampled 1980 Title VI centers, only 11 percent of the faculties are affiliated with professional schools and applied programs. (Barriers to establishing these links are identified later in this chapter.)

The number of international centers funded (8) is small and the number included in the Rand sample (2) still smaller. Thus, the budget and disciplinary distributions of these two centers can only raise issues about the consequences of funding topical as opposed to area centers. The two centers had budget distributions across activities similar to those of the area centers. However, their disciplinary distributions differ markedly. For the two faculties, 3 percent were humanities; 42 percent, social science; 48 percent, professional; and 7 percent, physical sciences.

Area Center Functions

The role of area centers varies from campus to campus, but most centers perform at least four basic functions: they act as campus advocates for area studies; provide area studies faculty with intellectual support; train students; and sponsor outreach activities. Student training and outreach are discussed at length in subsequent sections, but the other two functions are described here.

Campus Advocates for Area Studies. Most centers in our sample enjoy some visibility on campus. All have office space of their own and together with Title VI funding this accords them status as independent organizational units. Using these and other resources, centers can attempt to make area studies more visible to campus administrators and in turn, expand the total resource base available to international studies.

We found that a center's influence and its overall effectiveness as a campus advocate for area studies varies significantly depending on certain center and university characteristics. One factor is the extent of faculty participation in center activities. In its Title VI proposal, a center lists all faculty whose teaching and research relate to the center's particular area focus. However, according to our data, only about three-fifths of all faculty are actually involved in center activities (i.e., regularly attend center-sponsored events, participate in center governance, or view the center as part of their campus professional network). Centers that can show they include a broad-based faculty constituency have more legitimacy in the eyes of the university administration and hence a better basis for promoting area interests on campus. Also, a center where faculty with major reputations in their own fields participate in center activities can capitalize on a "star's" status as yet another resource to improve the center's standing on campus.

Even though centers at major universities often enjoy considerable prestige among area specialists at other institutions, there is difficulty in translating this into influence and status on their home campuses. These universities often have science programs of world-rank which attract much more money than area studies can; thus science programs dominate university decisionmaking. On the other hand, several large state universities we visited have achieved their current reputations largely *because* of their area studies programs. In these cases, the area centers can be quite effective in shaping university priorities. Other area centers, while not the direct source of a university's reputation, can contribute to programs that are. For example, at a university with a technical based emphasis in arid lands or tropical ecology, a Middle Eastern or Latin American center can play an important support role by providing courses on the language and culture of the region. The

center can then capitalize on its relevance to a major university priority and obtain greater support for less-applied research and teaching in that particular world area.

Other centers wield a measure of influence on campus because of their current or potential ability to attract external funds in addition to Title VI. Some centers, particularly those focusing on the economically important Middle East, have been able to attract a modest but continuing amount of corporate funding ($35,000-$50,0000 a year). Both the money itself and the centers' contact with influential corporate executives provides them with yet another resource to improve their position on campus. At another campus we visited the area specialists have been able to convince the administration that they have the potential to attract both governmental and private funding. Therefore, despite considerable fiscal stringency on campus, the administration has provided what it considers to be venture capital to fund an office of international studies and to match FLAS fellowships on a one-for-one basis.

In sum, the degree to which a center can act as an effective campus advocate for area studies depends on the extent of faculty participation in center activities, the individual status of active faculty, the relevance of the center to either the university's external reputation or its curricular priorities, and the ability of the center to attract outside funding. Those centers that are particularly successful advocates have been able to achieve one or more of the following: attract additional university funding for library acquisitions and center enrichment activities; help obtain internal faculty travel and research grants; convince departments to hire additional area specialists; and obtain faculty approval for non-Western survey courses either to be required or encouraged as part of the general undergraduate curriculum.

Intellectual Support for Area Faculty. University and OE funds allow centers to provide a variety of enrichment and interdisciplinary activities: outside speakers, workshops, visiting faculty, interdisciplinary research seminars, conferences, and faculty travel. As Figure 2.7 showed, OE funds contributed, on average, 39 percent of the total university and Title VI funds for these activities. Although the total dollar amount for enrichment is not large (usually only several thousand dollars a year from OE and university sources), centers generate substantial activity from these monies. Center faculty perceive these activities as more important when:

- Area faculty are scattered across disciplinary departments, i.e., relatively isolated from other faculty with area interests.
- Departments in which area faculty reside are hostile to area specialists.

- The university itself is geographically isolated from other major universities or cosmopolitan urban centers.

Center activities could conceivably legitimate interdisciplinary research in the face of departmental promotion and tenure systems that discourage it. In fact, we observed little interdisciplinary research among area faculty, even under the aegis of intellectually strong centers. However, faculty did comment on the interdisciplinary contact and feedback that these OE-funded activities provide. Thus, these activities seem insufficient to motivate interdisciplinary research, especially in the absence of earmarked funds. However, they do apparently help individual researchers take an interdisciplinary perspective in their work.

To the extent that centers use OE funds to augment library acquisitions and staff, they augment a critical resource for area faculty. As Figure 2.7 showed, OE funds finance an average 12 percent of the total costs for center-associated library collections.

Centers also use ED funds to augment area faculty. In some cases these individuals have become permanent, (i.e., universities have converted a soft, externally funded position to a hard money one funded by the university). Over three-fourths of the 1979-80 sample area centers used ED funds to hire language faculty to protect small enrollment language classes. More important for faculty intellectual support, however, is that some centers have used ED funds to hire area specialists in disciplinary departments that are reluctant to use their own funds for such specialists (e.g., economics or sociology departments).

Centers are increasingly less able to strengthen area faculty in this way because financial problems make universities less willing to absorb soft money positions and because the departments that have historically been reluctant to hire area specialists have become more—not less—hostile to such individuals.

Although centers can also intellectually support applied research programs (e.g., on food, public health, population, and arms control issues), we saw relatively little of this kind of interaction. Interviews with members of such projects suggest that the humanities dominance of most world areas accounts for its infrequency. The research style among humanities faculty is individual, not team. Topical research projects also often involve quantitative skills and disciplinary training in economics, political science, or the biological and physical sciences. The methodology and theoretical focus of humanities faculty are not particularly compatible with those of social, biological, and physical scientists.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF AREA CENTERS TO THE LARGER UNIVERSITY

Area Centers and the University Administration

As the last section indicated, university financial contributions to area studies consist primarily of faculty salaries and library support. With only two of the centers we visited having faculty positions of their own, most university area funds are allocated to disciplinary departments or the library, not directly to centers. Thus, university administrators and area centers have minimal economic relationships. However, their political relationships vary.

At most of the campuses we visited, the university administration does not lobby Congress on behalf of the center and the Title VI program, or deal directly with OE. Similarly, at state universities administrators do not lobby the legislature for the center (or for studies in the center's world area). Within the university, administrators rarely help centers in their relationships with disciplinary departments. When vacated slots revert from disciplinary departments to the administration, the administration seldom reallocates slots in ways that encourage departments to fill vacated area positions with other area specialists. However, at several of the private universities we visited, administrators are more willing to lobby on behalf of their area centers. For example, a university president might testify before Congress when new legislation is pending, or contact relevant Congressmen and OE management if the center feels it is not being treated fairly by Title VI program staff. At the same time, like their counterparts at public universities, these administrators tend not to intervene on behalf of the centers in their internal dealings with academic departments and other campus sub-units.

Administrative-center political relationships are relatively predictable. Administrators evidence political commitment if the center is closely associated with a *prestigious* department or with a *strong* international studies umbrella unit. In all the cases of minimal commitment we observed, the center is either closely associated with a weak department, or represents a coordinating committee without ties to a strong international studies unit. In our fieldwork sample, three centers not affiliated with strong departments or international studies units receive strong administrative support, but two of these represent administrative vehicles for achieving major university objectives[12] and the third case reflects idiosyncratic factors.

[12]One of these two centers has hard money faculty lines and constitutes more of a department than a center.

Area Centers and International Studies Organizations

Fifty-seven percent (13) of the universities that we studied have international studies (IS) units (schools, institutes, or offices) to coordinate international education, research, outreach, and/or fund-raising. Two centers that we studied are independent of these units. In the remaining cases, directors of IS units exert some authority over center directors, although not necessarily for all center functions.[13] In a few cases the relationship seems more facilitative than authoritative.

As active and relatively powerful organizations on their campuses, seven of these units receive external funds or are in the process of major fund-raising drives. They have already or are currently developing ties with business, government, foundations, and influential citizen groups.

Centers lodged in the more powerful umbrella units benefit from the association politically, fiscally, and administratively. As more powerful organizations than the individual centers, these units can offer centers some political protection on campus. They disburse funds to the centers from university and external sources—usually for enrichment activities (e.g., a conference, guest speaker, conference travel), but sometimes for research. They also assist centers administratively—in preparing funding proposals and coordinating outreach activities for all centers in the unit, thus increasing the efficiency of the university's total outreach.

Although strong IS units benefit centers, mandating such umbrella organizations as a condition of Title VI funding is not advisable. A mandate would produce more IS units. However, centers benefit from them only when these units possess fiscal and political power. Of the strong IS units that we observed, some had acquired resources during the height of area studies support. The others acquired resources from their university's recognition that such a unit would benefit the *university as a whole*. These universities tend to be state universities, located in cities or regions with internationally based economies. Thus, requiring an IS unit on campus will probably not produce the center benefits that naturally occurring, strong units produce.

Area Centers and Academic Departments

In his 1969 research on area studies programs, Richard Lambert reported that over a third of the programs conducted joint searches with

[13]For example, in one case the director of the international studies unit has only research authority over the center director.

academic departments recruiting in a particular world area and about 45 percent of the programs had a representative sitting on disciplinary selection committees.[14] We found that for our sample, center influence over recruitment by disciplinary departments has declined. None of the centers in our sample play any formal role except in the few instances where the center will be funding part or all of a departmental position. Disciplinary departments might ask center directors for recommendations and invite them to attend recruitment seminars, but the decision about who will be interviewed and eventually hired is a departmental one.

Lambert also speculated that soft money appointments might present a danger to the durability of area studies once external funds began to shrink.[15] We found that in some sense this is happening. Center directors have increasingly less influence over academic departments because the centers often lack the funds to support an entire position, and the departments are reluctant to commit their scarce resources to a position they may consider peripheral to departmental priorities. For example, at one center we visited the director had tried to persuade both the economics and political science departments to hire an area specialist on the condition that center funds would support half the position. Both departments declined the offer, economics because its need for another econometrician was more central, and political science because there was greater student demand for courses in American politics than area studies.

Center leverage also becomes more limited as universities are increasingly unable to convert externally funded positions into regular university-supported lines. At several centers we visited it was highly unlikely that faculty initially recruited with Title VI funds would be absorbed into the regular university budget. Consequently, these were becoming "revolving-door" positions, with young scholars coming for a few years on soft money and then being replaced by other young scholars on the same tenuous basis. For all these reasons, then, centers still use their funds to try to influence departmental hiring and to increase the total number of area specialists on campus. But they are becoming less effective at this than in the past.

Lambert reported that over half of the programs he surveyed either played no role in tenure and promotion decisions or played only an informal one.[16] This lack of center influence was also borne out for our sample. Over a third of the centers play absolutely no role in departmental tenure and promotion decisions. Although about 60

[14]Lambert, *Language and Area Studies Review*, 1973, op. cit., p. 212.
[15]Ibid., p. 211.
[16]Ibid., p. 213.

percent of the directors occasionally write letters evaluating faculty members affiliated with the center, in only one case was a director's actions critical to a tenure decision.

Until now we have been discussing a center's tangible influence over decisions made by academic departments. But there is another equally important, if somewhat less concrete, issue: how academic departments judge area studies as an intellectual enterprise. The academic confrontations between area studies and various disciplines are now quite legendary. The charge on one side was that area specialists disregarded the canons of scientific analysis, and on the other that social scientists ignored important cultural differences. Or, as one noted historian of the Middle East observed:

> Until very recently, one could not unfairly observe that the history of the Arabs had been written in the West either by Arabists who understood no history or by historians who know no Arabic. . . .[17]

Despite a belief on the part of many that the area studies/disciplinary battles of the past are over, we still observed the fallout in some departments and institutions. In other words, area studies are still not completely integrated into the various disciplinary departments, most notably the social science departments.

Although the findings are limited by our sample size, we can make some observations about the degree of area studies/disciplinary integration. First, world areas vary in the integration of area studies with social science departments. As Table 2.2 indicated, the Latin American area has a substantially better disciplinary balance than the Soviet and East European, East Asian, or Middle Eastern areas.

We considered several explanations for this variation by world area. First, there is the possibility that the humanities dominance in the non-Latin American areas is attributable to heavier language training needs in these areas. Unlike other areas, Latin American studies require languages (Spanish and Portuguese) that American students frequently encounter in high school and can learn fairly easily. However, the ratio of language and literature faculty to total humanities faculty by world area showed no strong pattern. If we consider only the four larger world areas in our sample, the Latin America and Soviet/East European areas have the highest ratios (.62 and .59, respectively); the Middle Eastern area, the lowest (.42).

Second, world areas differ in several ways that combine to make them more or less attractive to the social sciences. For example:

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[17]Bernard Lewis, "Asia and Africa in the Academic Programs of Europe," Xerox, 1978.

- They differ in language barriers. In fact, Lucian Pye, in his book on political science and area studies, noted a trade-off between the necessity for language study and the use of quantitative analysis:

> . . . the research on those regions for which the learning of a foreign language either was not called for or was not a major hurdle generally employed more of the advanced methodological techniques of the discipline, while the more established area specializations have been generally slower in adopting such quantitative procedures.[18]

- They differ in the number of indigenous social scientists with whom their American counterparts can work.
- They differ in access, especially for social scientists who deal more frequently with politically sensitive questions. For example, anthropologists prefer original data collection, a method incompatible with closed societies such as the Soviet and East European states. And in fact, in the five Russian and East European centers we visited, we found only two anthropologists.
- They differ in the availability of aggregate data increasingly preferred not just by economists, but also by sociologists and political scientists. These data bases are generally not available outside of industrialized states—and if available, not accessible outside of democratically governed states or ones politically dependent on the United States.
- They differ in the theoretical or applied interest that they hold for different disciplines. For example, Western European societies do not fit the traditional focus of anthropologists.
- They differ in the past and present availability of foundation and federal funds for applied problems.
- They differ in their psychological proximity to the United States, by virtue of differences in geography and political and commercial relationships.

Different combinations of these (and other) factors seem to help account for the observed distribution of disciplines by world area.[19]

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[18]Lucian W. Pye (ed.), *Political Science and Area Studies: Rivals or Partners?* Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1975, p. 14.

[19]For example, Latin America shows one of the lowest proportions of humanities and the highest proportion of social science and professional school faculties. This area has proved theoretically interesting to political scientists (e.g., theory of the state; dependency theory) and of applied interest to development economists, public health experts, and medical anthropologists. Certainly countries outside of Latin America meet some of these same interests. However, the study of Latin America requires languages less alien to Americans than those of, say, East Asia. Several countries in the region also have

Observers could argue endlessly about which factors explain disciplinary distributions by world area. However, any disciplinary distribution within a world area results from some factors that the federal government, the disciplinary departments, and area centers may not be able to control. For example, none of these three parties can control research access to foreign countries. In the absence of strong countervailing incentives, centers can do little to affect the economists' penchant for countries that have data bases amenable to econometric techniques. These factors would seem to indicate that any federal attempt to alter the disciplinary distribution in a world area should be carefully tailored both to the discipline and the world area.

Respondents across world areas and universities agree that history and language/literature departments are most receptive to area specialists, and economics and sociology departments are least receptive.[20] The perceived receptivity of anthropology, geography, political science, art, and music varies more by university and world areas.

Disciplines vary in the extent to which they are language and area-based. The language/literature disciplines, by definition, are language and area-focused; history is also area-based by time. Thus, we would predict what our respondents reported: that these two disciplines are consistently receptive to language and area specialists.[21] Although music is not area-based, ethnomusicology is. In universities that offer ethnomusicology degrees, we found the ethnomusicologists receptive to and involved in area centers. Of the two most resistant disciplines, both are substantively oriented to the American case—economics probably more for methodological reasons than sociology.

The lack of area studies/economics faculty is the most serious problem for student training and the national stock of disciplinary area specialists. In terms of Ph.D. production, an economics/area studies Ph.D. is one of the few clearly marketable disciplinary-area combinations—in universities, international organizations, government, and increasingly in the private sector. A lack of area economists also affects the training of graduate students specializing in noneconomic area

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renowned social scientists with whom their American counterparts can work. Foundations, especially the Rockefeller Foundation, have funded substantial work in Latin America in the area of public health, and the federal government has supported work in economic development. Finally, Latin America is closer to us psychologically than some other regions because of its spatial proximity and shared European heritage.

[20]As one area economist observed, an area specialist in economics is seen as having entered a "slum" field. First-line departments hire candidates who have proved themselves as theorists or have the technical skills that will allow them to so prove themselves.

[21]Despite the general amenability of historical inquiry to area studies, we did find that some history departments we visited are either antagonistic or indifferent to the study of non-Western history. These are departments with a strong emphasis on American and European history. The effect of this focus is to isolate non-Western historians in much the same way some area economists are isolated from their disciplinary colleagues.

studies combinations. For example, students in the other social sciences are more marketable if they include training in the economic aspects of their world areas. Additionally, most applied problems of national concern (e.g., food, energy, population) have strong economic dimensions. When the production of area economists diminishes, it reduces the national stock of individuals who are knowledgeable about the problems that originally stimulated passage of Title VI.

Finally, at seven of our twenty-three centers (five of them Soviet and East European), respondents observed that the social science departments are becoming more, not less, resistant to hiring area specialists. They attributed this resistance to the increasingly technical nature of these disciplines, noting that area economists in the first-line economics departments are now in their 40s and 50s and as they retire are being replaced, not by other area specialists, but by economists with theoretical and quantitative training. They also cited examples of other social science departments that have not replaced or are not expected to replace vacated area slots with area specialists. Again, the emphasis is on scholars with more quantitative training.

In sum, our data on area studies and disciplinary integration show that: the humanities apparently dominate at least three major world areas; two social science disciplines strongly resist area specialists, and others are only variably receptive to them; and some social science disciplines are becoming increasingly resistant to area specialists, at least in one world area and possibly in others.

Although our sample sizes are small, these data raise serious policy issues that deserve further exploration:

- If, for whatever reasons, certain world areas are humanities-dominated, then federal support for Ph.D. training in these areas fuels employment problems in the humanities.
- As long as area studies is not well-integrated into the social sciences, Ph.D. candidates interested in an area specialization find it difficult to justify such a focus to faculty in their disciplinary departments. Student respondents discussed this problem and its effect on the direction of their training, their academic standing as compared with non-area-oriented peers, and in turn, on their professional identity.[22]
- If one objective of Title VI is to create a stock of area specialists that can enlighten the country's international problems, and if area studies becomes increasingly humanities-oriented (in at least some world areas), then the United States will come

[22]For a fuller discussion of this problem, see Pye, op. cit., p. 9.

to depend on experts who are increasingly restricted in the substantive contribution they can make.

Our limited data from the two international (topical) centers we visited show very small proportions of humanities faculties and large proportions of social science and professional school faculties. These data suggest that such centers may be more compatible with those disciplines and professional schools that now enjoy uneasy relationships with area centers. We are not recommending a redistribution of Title VI funds between area and international centers. We do recommend, however, a careful assessment of what such centers (both Title VI funded and non-Title VI funded) imply for student training and placement and for faculty disciplinary orientation, research quality, and productivity.

An alternative to integrating area specialists into disciplinary departments is to establish an interdisciplinary area studies department with its own faculty positions. In his report, Richard Lambert implies that the creation of such a department is a sign of strength, demonstrating the degree to which area studies is institutionalized on a campus.[23] Five of the centers we visited are integral parts of separate area studies departments, but their strength and quality vary greatly. Two include faculty with national and international reputations and are ranked by university administrators as among the top ten departments on campus. The other three were established not because area studies enjoyed a favored position on campus, but because it was so weak. Area studies faculty felt disciplinary faculty were either antagonistic or condescending toward them and reasoned that a separate department would accord them higher status. Because their universities were experiencing a period of growth, administrators permitted the establishment of these departments. However, instead of decreasing disciplinary resistance the new departments only further isolated area studies from the mainstream of the social sciences. Although a few social scientists were recruited for these departments, such structural isolation appears to have decreased the overall quality of area training.[24] The disciplinary departments have been relieved of any pressure to integrate area specialists and at the same time, they perceive area department faculty as "second class" members of their respective disciplines. The point here is that area specialists cannot always avoid the problem of disciplinary integration by creating alternative organizational arrangements. In fact, most area studies departments that have achieved considerable status both on-campus and nationally have done so precisely because their faculty are of such

[23]Lambert, *Language and Area Studies Review*, 1973, op. cit., pp. 204-205.

[24]In the case of two centers, on outside review team recently confirmed this judgment.

a caliber as to make them also welcome members of disciplinary departments.

At two other centers we visited, the university administration has given respectively, a center and an international studies unit faculty positions of their own. Some of these positions are used in their own units and others allocated partially or wholly to disciplinary departments to recruit area specialists. Under this arrangement the quality of area faculty appears to remain high. However, for several reasons we could not judge whether such a strategy produces a better disciplinary balance. In both cases the university places a high priority on international studies, a priority that may account for the strategy itself and for any quality and integrating effect that it may have.

Area Centers and the Professional Schools

In 1972 OE added links between professional schools and Title VI area centers as a criterion in the centers grant competition. The intent was to internationalize professional education. Half of the centers in our sample have no formal professional school ties, although some have such ties under discussion. Only two centers have formal ties with several professional schools.[25] The remainder have established joint degrees or arrangements that allow cross-listing or double-counting of courses with one or at most, two schools. The number of students participating in such arrangements is generally small (e.g., "3 per year," "2-3 in the last 3-4 years," "two in the last 5 years"). The numbers only increase when the joint training occurs at the undergraduate level (e.g., with a journalism-area studies major). In most cases these ties depend on the presence of a single professional school faculty member with an interest in area studies. In other words, most of these links are not institutionalized.

When ties exist, they occur primarily with schools of law (4), business administration (4), public health/medicine (5), journalism (3), education (2), and agricultural economics (2). We observed no patterns by world area (e.g., law school ties were scattered across world areas). However, the number of ties is too small to conclude that world areas do not affect what types of linkages occur.

Our data revealed several impediments to center-professional school relationships: a lack of market payoffs from joint area-professional training; disincentives for professional school faculty to specialize in area studies; training inefficiencies for professional school

[25]The ties at one of these centers predated the OE mandate.

students; and university and legislative barriers to establishing joint programs.

Market Realities. A recent survey revealed the market orientation of professional school curricula and students. Faculty from 12 professional schools at a major state university were interviewed to determine their interest in professional school-area center links. These individuals were responsive to the idea of internationalized professional training. However, they observed that 90 percent of their students desire only a technical education and a job. They recognized that some proportion of their students have unusual interests and attend this particular university specifically to pursue unique professional-area studies combinations. The professional school faculties were willing to supplement and enrich such students' education. However, they were unwilling to restructure their curriculum for these small numbers. Basically, the professional schools' primary mission is to provide training that will certify their students in the eyes of future employers.[26] Thus, they are concerned with maintaining a solid core curriculum that serves the needs of the large majority of both students and employers.

Consequently, the feasibility of joint professional school-area training depends in part on the market advantage such training provides professional school students. In general, area training provides only a marginal advantage and then only for a few students. Multinational private sector firms reported that MBA's with area training have a slight, but not major, market edge.[27] Law schools reported a small, unfilled demand for international lawyers.[28] Journalism school faculty reported that the foreign correspondent market declined between 1945 and 1965, and has remained stable since 1965. Although the market may grow slightly for specific countries (e.g., China), they saw no reason to expect the aggregate market to grow. The market for education school graduates is weak, although we lack the data to determine if an international education specialization increases an individual's marketability.

Reward Systems for Professional School Faculty. Since professional school and area center links occur through faculty in the two units, questions arise about the hiring and promotion policies of the different professional schools. Our data here come primarily from law

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[26]Rand interviewed deans at several business schools in our study for the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies. Two of these schools had tried to internationalize some of the core curriculum for MBA students with international interests. The result was diluted training and less employable graduates.

[27]Berryman et al., op. cit., p. xiii.

[28]These findings are also consistent with what Rand found in its work for the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies.

schools, and we use them to illustrate the obstacles professional school faculty face in becoming area specialists.

Our respondents noted that the vast majority of law school positions are for teaching domestic law courses. Consequently, few assistant professors will invest their publication energies in foreign law. In fact, only a few universities even have comparative law specialists. While law schools may offer a comparative law course, their faculties rarely include specifically designated foreign law positions.

The financial backing for area law faculty is also vanishing. The Ford Foundation has moved out of this field almost entirely, and the bulk of federal money is for exchange programs with a particular country. This funding arrangement skews research because it requires the law professor to conduct research in the foreign country. Frequently the researcher must obtain the foreign government's approval, and consequently some topics cannot be studied in certain countries.

Training Inefficiencies. Respondents in law, business, and agricultural economics complained about their students' "scholastic" language training, noting that language departments seemed unable to adjust their language goals to meet different student needs. They also noted the disincentive that language training poses for professional school students. Most of these schools have condensed curricula with few outside electives, so their students have trouble finding time to study foreign languages not already mastered prior to professional school enrollment.

Bureaucratic Barriers. Universities vary in their rules for establishing joint programs or for cross-listing courses. In some cases the internal barriers can be significant. At state universities state legislatures often have to approve new programs. At one university the Business School wanted to initiate a joint program with the area centers. The area and Business School faculties who tried to establish the program estimate that it will take five years to maneuver the program proposal through university and legislative approvals.

In summary, our data strongly question the realism of current OE mandates for links between area centers and professional schools. Limited market payoffs for area-professional training, probably the major barrier to realizing these objectives, do not appear to support across-the-board, joint efforts between area centers and professional schools. OE needs to identify realistic objectives for area center/professional school links and the available incentives for forging them. This assessment should be done by world area and by type of professional school. For example, market opportunities for an MBA/East Asia graduate may be quite different than for an MBA with a Soviet/East European specialization.

Area Centers and Their Consortium Partners

Our sample included five consortia of two centers each. All 10 centers applied as consortia to increase their chances of funding. However, the centers in only two consortia applied together from a sense of mutual benefit. At least one member of each of the other three consortia felt that OE had forced them into the arrangement, which was described as a "shotgun wedding."

In all 10 cases the consortium arrangement produced payoffs and problems. The specific benefits varied by center, but they fall into one of four classes:

- The arrangement gives one center access to a resource at another university that its university lacks, for example, special library collections, a geographic location that provides more jobs for area graduates.
- It allows two universities to share the costs of a resource. For example, if two universities are geographically close and students can cross-enroll, the centers can combine two small language classes into one. They can also share the costs of enrichment activities by, for example, jointly funding the travel costs of an outside speaker.
- It performs the same networking function as individual centers, except that the networks are inter-, not intra-, university. Occasionally they may become intra-regional. In a few cases consortia have generated joint research projects between universities.
- It can relieve one university of Title VI-stipulated activities (usually outreach) that it is unwilling or unable to perform.

Consortium arrangements also produce problems. The first and major one is funding. Although consortia receive higher awards than individual centers, two centers have to share the funds between them. Some centers actually receive less money as consortia partners than comparable single grantees. Respondents pointed out that consortia-generated savings result from obtaining more for the same amount of money, but *not from actually reducing costs*. In fact, a consortium arrangement *adds* costs—at a minimum consortia centers incur travel and coordination costs that they would not incur as single grantees. Since OE does not always cover all consortia-associated costs and in some cases awards a consortium member less than that same center might have received as a single grantee, respondents frequently stated that OE in effect punishes some consortia, instead of rewarding them for generating the efficiencies that consortia allow. On the other hand, some centers would not qualify for Title VI funding if they applied as

single grantees, so the extent to which an individual center is hurt by consortia status depends on its competitive standing independent of its consortium partner.

Second, the geographic distance that often exists between consortia partners imposes substantial time costs. The distance can be several hundred miles. Even a 50 mile distance reduces the ability and willingness of area faculty and students to take full advantage of the partner's resources (e.g., library, courses).

Third, if consortia activities require an inter-university agreement (e.g., cross-listing courses at each other's universities), the bureaucratic barriers can be dissuasive.

The fourth problem arises when one or both consortia partners regard the consortium as forced. In cases where this occurred, it was the high status partner or two high status rivals who described the original arrangement as forced, or as a shotgun wedding. However, not all unequal status consortia saw them as forced. For example, a high status private institution might find it in its interest to join with a lower-ranked state university because the state institution is better equipped to do outreach. Or a strong area center at one campus might decide it can benefit from an association with a weaker area center simply because the weaker center has greater faculty expertise on one particular country in the region. The key is whether the partners see mutual benefit from the arrangement other than that of retaining Title VI funds. Unequal status (or high status rival) partners are associated with perceptions of a forced consortium simply because high status partners are less apt to think that they need the resources of another university.

This last problem has two effects. Fragmentary data suggest that it slows the development of inter-university ties. How partners view the consortium also predicts their perceptions of whether or not the consortium will continue in the absence of Title VI funds. In the forced cases, the high status (but not the low status) partner and both high status rivals expect the consortium to disappear in the absence of Title VI funds. Thus, if OE wants to institutionalize consortia activities, it should fund consortia where both partners expect benefit from the arrangement. This benefit has to be more than just retaining Title VI funds. In other words, a consortium should be based on more than an implied threat that in the absence of such an arrangement, the two schools will not be funded.

In conclusion, consortia produce efficiencies, by expanding the overall purchasing power of the two partners. However, many consortia are formed in anticipation of or in response to an explicit threat of losing Title VI funds. This situation then retards the development of those ties needed to realize the full benefits of a consortium. The consortium

concept has real potential, particularly during periods of financial stringency, and OE can use this mechanism to encourage area centers to create efficiencies. However, to achieve this objective, selection as an consortium has to be seen as a reward for especially innovative ideas, not as a punishment for geographic proximity. This requires adequate financing by OE and a partnership decision that arises from what centers want to do together, rather than from what they are afraid of losing separately.

AREA CENTERS AND STUDENT TRAINING

Through the area programs they support, centers serve a student training function. Some centers award interdisciplinary B.A. and M.A. degrees in an area specialty, but Ph.D.s are always disciplinary degrees. Others award certificates at the B.A., M.A., or Ph.D. levels to represent an area minor. Still others simply coordinate area courses which students with area interests can take.

Centers use OE funds in several ways to improve student training. First, they often maintain small enrollment language classes. Of the OE funds that centers spend on faculty salaries, a disproportionate amount (an average of 44 percent) is allocated for language faculty. As Chapter 1 observed, American postsecondary institutions currently face severe financial pressures. When university administrators respond to these pressures by eliminating small enrollment classes, language classes are particularly vulnerable. The maximum desirable class size of 15 students for language training is also the size that university administrators often use in identifying courses for elimination. The esoteric languages, especially advanced courses in these languages, traditionally generate small demand, so there is no opportunity to combine classes and achieve greater enrollment.

Second, as Figure 2.7 showed, OE funds an average 12 percent of the library costs attributable to a world area. Library resources are critical to graduate area training, especially for students in the humanities and increasingly for dissertation research in all disciplines. As funding sources and stipends for dissertation research abroad diminish, Ph.D. candidates in area studies have had to rely increasingly on American libraries to write their dissertations.

Third, through their center grants, outreach, and research funding, centers and their faculty support the development of curricular materials, especially text and audiovisual materials for the uncommon languages.

Fourth, by competing for and obtaining Title VI center grants,

centers feel that they can compete better for FLAS fellowships. Even the most prestigious universities see FLAS fellowships as instrumental to attracting and retaining the best students in area studies, especially in those disciplines with bleaker postgraduate employment opportunities.

Fifth, centers can help to internationalize undergraduate education by exposing non-area majors to area courses. Center success in this effort is not entirely positive, however. Most area programs offer at least one lower division survey course and also offer a much larger number of more specialized area courses. Yet, area courses are not generally incorporated into B.A. distribution requirements, even as an alternative way of satisfying these requirements. We also do not know the extent to which enrollees in the more specialized area courses are non-area majors or minors.[29]

A few of the centers we visited recently persuaded the academic senate and administration at their institutions to require some type of non-Western culture or history course as part of the general undergraduate curriculum. Such a requirement is still rare after the deemphasis in distribution requirements during the 1960s, but our experience indicates it may be on the increase.

Sixth, for students based in a department other than a language department, centers legitimate the number of language training hours that students with area interests need to spend outside of their disciplinary departments. In a similar vein, centers also provide what students and faculty call a "psychological home" for those students based in disciplinary departments. This function is analogous to that played by the center for department-based area faculty. Centers seem to play this role for students regardless of the nature of the institution (e.g., whether an undergraduate school or a prestigious university).

Undergraduate Majors or Certificate Programs in Area Studies

Undergraduate-level area programs raise the following questions relevant to Title VI:

- How extensive are area programs for undergraduates and what is the demand for them?
- How internationalized is the general undergraduate curriculum?
- How interdisciplinary is the training available to area majors?

[29]Universities do not keep records of this kind.

- What type of language competence (reading, writing, or speaking) is stressed? What level of competence is required?
- What job market, if any, exists for B.A.s with area training? What proportion of area studies B.A.s later enroll in professional schools? Do they combine their area and professional school training in any observable way? For example, do they disproportionately pursue foreign law courses? Do they seek internships abroad or international positions in this country?
- Do undergraduate Title VI centers differ from comprehensive ones on any of these dimensions?

Formal Area Programs: Frequency, Use, and Center Role. Eighteen, or 78 percent, of the area centers in our sample have at least one formal undergraduate area program: an interdisciplinary, area studies major, a disciplinary major with a certificate in area studies, or a disciplinary major with an emphasis on area studies. Some institutions offer more than one option, and all eighteen centers produce at least five to six graduates a year. The disciplinary major with an area emphasis usually consists of a major in a language/literature department or in an interdisciplinary area department. Five centers have no formal program at the undergraduate level or award a degree or certificate so rarely that it represents only a "paper" program.

Of the eighteen centers associated with a viable formal area program, 50 percent have the authority to award either a degree (3) or a certificate (6). In these cases, centers coordinate the program itself or certify the area student's program of study. If centers lack degree or certificate authority, they often play an advisory role in the student's education.

Internationalizing Undergraduate Education. Part of the enrichment concept in international education includes exposing students who are not specializing in area studies to courses that will inform them about other cultures and social systems. We found that such courses do exist in our sample centers, but that they are rarely offered or organized by the centers. Only four centers offer general survey courses that non-area majors might be expected to take; several other centers sponsor the development of such courses by disciplinary departments. For example, at one campus we visited, a popular undergraduate course on political economy taught in the political science department was developed with Title VI funds. Another interdisciplinary course on Africa uses a text developed with Title VI research funds. On the whole, however, centers do not see the internationalization of the general undergraduate curriculum as one of their primary purposes.

Academic departments, on the other hand, offer general survey

courses partly as a way to maintain their enrollments and justify faculty positions. These courses also serve as a recruiting ground for future area studies majors. General survey courses include those on the history and culture of an area (e.g., "Slavic Life") as well as courses on non-Western literature in translation (e.g., "Oriental Humanities," which includes both East Asian and Middle Eastern literature). Faculty reported a decline in enrollment for these courses over the past few years, but the number of students taking them still remains moderate to high (usually 35-40 at smaller campuses and 75-100 at larger institutions).

Undergraduate Area Training: How Interdisciplinary? This question becomes relevant if the presumed purpose of undergraduate education is broad training, rather than specialized. Are area programs structured to train area students across the social sciences and humanities?

Of the centers with formal undergraduate area programs, only four (or 17 percent) have programs requiring interdisciplinary exposure. One of the broadest interdisciplinary majors we saw is offered at a Latin American center where undergraduate majors must take a course on Latin American politics, one on Latin American economics which also requires an introductory economics course, an interdisciplinary core course, two semesters of Latin American literature taught in Spanish, and at least one year of Portuguese or French. This major is unique in its breadth and also in the faculty's sensitivity to combining more marketable courses like those in economics with the traditional humanities and social sciences courses. Five centers (or 22 percent) offer programs that imply a narrow disciplinary program (usually restricted to the humanities). The remaining cases allow, but do not ensure, interdisciplinary training.

Undergraduate Language Training. Most social science and humanities area studies faculty agreed that, relative to other components of area training, language study requires sequenced courses and substantial blocks of time. It is hard for individuals to learn languages on their own or in addition to full-time non-language study (e.g., professional training). Thus, undergraduate area programs need to provide strong language training for students who want to use their area training after college or pursue it at the graduate or professional school level.

Of those universities in our sample that offer formal area programs, two-thirds require two years of language training. Only six universities offer programs that require either three years of a foreign language or two languages with at least two years of coursework for one. Several universities also offer area programs with less stringent language requirements; a few even allow students to substitute cultural courses for language study.

It is generally agreed that a two-year language requirement does not ensure proficiency. Consequently, a disjuncture exists between what most undergraduate area programs provide and what some area faculty think they should provide. Our data also indicate that undergraduate language programs primarily train students for document translation, not spoken competence. This result agrees with complaints by employers (especially government and private sector) that schools do not provide the spoken competence they require of their employees.[30]

Employment of Area Studies B.A.s. Area faculty usually have only the most general sense of their graduates' post-college destinations. Almost half of the centers do not know what at least 50 percent of their students do after college. Thus, we do not know what proportion of area graduates obtain training-related jobs after college. Faculty noted that those they knew who obtained jobs seemed to work in banking, for airlines, teaching English abroad, teaching foreign languages in the United States, or in government. However, except for teaching, we could not tell if students had jobs that actually use their area training. In conclusion, our data cannot tell us whether or not a job market exists for area studies B.A.s.

Links Between Area Studies B.A.s and Professional Training. As discussed above, centers generally have few ties with professional schools. However, professional school training can be internationalized, not just by training post-B.A. students, but also by adding professional courses to undergraduate area and language training. In this case federal policy might be targeted on the national pool of strong area studies B.A.s who enter professional schools and want to build on their area and professional training through coursework or internships.[31]

For this strategy to work, a number of strong area studies B.A.s would have to enter professional schools and want to combine their area and professional training. Again, we lack data on area B.A.s post-college destinations. Faculty said that "some" area studies B.A.s entered professional schools in law, business, and medicine. However, we do not know how many went to what kinds of schools, and we lack data on their desire to incorporate their undergraduate area training with their professional training.

Undergraduate versus Comprehensive Centers. All the undergraduate centers in our sample, but only 75 percent of the comprehensive centers, have formal undergraduate area programs. Our data show no other differences between these two types of centers. Since we only

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[30]Berryman et al., op. cit., p. 88.

[31]Since only a few students interested in area studies would be at a given professional school at any one time, area/professional coursework might have to be centralized in some way. Foreign internship programs (e.g., Berkeley's Professional Studies Program in India) would probably need to draw on students from around the country.

visited four, or one-third, of the undergraduate centers funded during 1979-80, our conclusion is a qualified one. However, this lack of any major operational differences between undergraduate and comprehensive centers suggests that the distinction may not be the best one to use in allocating center grants.

Most of our respondents understood the need for geographic equity in allocating center grants and the inherent conflict between this kind of concern and some pure quality standard. The undergraduate center designation has been OE's primary mechanism for achieving some measure of geographic equity and for funding centers with fewer resources than the larger and older ones. However, as we noted, at the centers we visited the undergraduate label is virtually meaningless.[32] These centers neither do more nor better undergraduate instruction than the comprehensive ones. Basically, in their objectives and activities, they resemble the larger centers but simply have fewer faculty and library resources. There is clearly a need for these centers, however: they may be the only ones in an entire region, and many are located at institutions that engage in teacher training and can, therefore, serve a very important outreach function. We think that some kind of a tiered system makes sense, but the present designation does not adequately distinguish among centers.

Terminal Master's Degrees

The centers and universities in our sample sponsor four kinds of M.A. programs. Nine (27 percent of our sample) are academic in focus and function as pre-Ph.D. training either for those who eventually enroll in a Ph.D. program or as a consolation degree for those who fail to continue on for the Ph.D. Three programs can be characterized as enrichment and have less stringent language requirements than the academic M.A. The purpose of the enrichment M.A. is not to prepare for advanced training or specific employment but to supplement B.A.-level coursework. Seven of the programs in our sample are vocational and market-oriented. More interdisciplinary than other types of M.A. programs, they are the only ones that require any quantitative courses. The remaining seven programs are either academic or enrichment ones that have begun to move in a more vocational direction. Besides these established programs, five other area studies M.A. programs of a vocational orientation are planned at institutions in our sample. Thus in our

[32]None of the undergraduate centers we visited are located at institutions offering solely undergraduate instruction. We would expect that centers at such institutions might very well differ in their purpose and activities from those at institutions offering both undergraduate and graduate instruction.

sample, the majority of M.A. programs already have a vocational focus or are planning one.

Job Market for Terminal M.A.s. In general, our data are too poor to assess this question. Center directors and faculty usually have only a vague sense of their M.A. graduates' destinations. Noting that fewer M.A.s go on for a Ph.D. today than five or ten years ago, faculty at several universities attributed this change not to a change in student quality but to a change in the market for area Ph.D.s.

The vocational M.A. programs seem to have the best employment record and match between training and subsequent employment, perhaps because we lack data for M.A. programs of other types. Although not all vocational programs have good employment data, in most cases the only good data we obtained came from vocational M.A. programs. These data indicated near-perfect placement of graduates and placement in jobs ostensibly related to area training (e.g., international organizations, government, international businesses). It can also be argued that faculty knowledge of student placement goes along with a placement- and market-oriented program that has in fact located or created a market for its graduates.

Center Role. Potentially, centers can admit M.A. students, supervise their training, award the M.A. degree or an area certificate, and place them. We found that if the center has no role, the M.A. program is usually academic or enrichment in type. Departments or institutes—sometimes ones the center is closely associated with—administer these programs. However, academic or enrichment M.A. programs do not preclude an active center role. A few centers associated with such programs play active roles even though they lack formal authority over the program.

We found that the center usually plays an active role when the program is vocational. The very few cases where centers perform a placement function are ones associated with vocational programs.

Ph.D. Candidates

We assess seven dimensions of Ph.D. area training: the role of Title VI centers in this training; changes in student quality in the last decade; foreign language training at the Ph.D. level; need and availability of funds for overseas language training; need for and availability of fellowship support for overseas dissertation research; employment of Ph.D. area specialists; and responses to employment problems for Ph.D.s.

Center Role. The disciplinary departments and therefore the area faculty in them—not the centers—admit and supervise Ph.D. students,

award the degrees, and place them. However, three centers in our sample award area certificates at the Ph.D. level.

All centers in our sample participate in the FLAS selection process even if they do not govern it. If university fellowships are available for area students, centers also assist in these selections. The majority of the centers informally advise Ph.D. students, provide a psychological home for them outside of their disciplinary departments, and integrate them into area or international seminars, conferences, and workshops. A few centers give Ph.D.-level courses such as interdisciplinary seminars on the world area. A few distribute small amounts of money to graduate students for typing, attending conferences, or summer support for language training in the United States or abroad. A very few centers actively assist with student placement.

In sum, centers have substantial, but primarily informal, contact with Ph.D. students, whose formal training comes more through disciplinary departments than through the centers. However, centers serve to socialize graduate students to the area specialist "club" and to support them intellectually, psychologically, and sometimes financially.

Changes in Ph.D. Student Quality. Area specialists can now obtain only limited financial support during their training, and they face diminished job prospects at its end. A critical question, then, is whether these disincentives have affected the quality of students in different area-disciplinary combinations.

There is no immediately obvious pattern to faculty assessments of student quality: Some see it as increasing or stable, others as declining. While these perceptions are not entirely consistent across disciplines, a number of observations can be made about the quality of current Ph.D. candidates:

- The size of applicant pools has decreased substantially across disciplines and universities (e.g., applications in one major department declined from 300 to 30 between 1970 and 1979). Departments therefore have fewer applicants from which to choose, and this decline in options may translate into a decline in quality.
- At some schools the composition of the student pool has changed. It increasingly includes foreign students who are not as well prepared, but who usually do not enter our national stock of specialists.
- Several faculty noted that students are more vocational today —"narrower," "more technical," "less curious." This change may merely reflect a change in student purpose, not a change in quality. Narrower and less curious students may be less interesting to teach, and faculty may not value a vocational

orientation. However, these students may be as able as were earlier, more academically oriented students.

Changes in the attractiveness of a particular type of university, department, world area, or area Ph.D. may also affect faculty perceptions of student quality.

- Because they have less fellowship money available, many public universities compete less effectively for good applicants than private schools do. Thus, the quality of the total student stock may not have declined, but quality may be distributed differently across universities today than ten years ago.
- The status of disciplinary departments has changed over the decade. A perceived change in quality may simply reflect the increasing or decreasing attractiveness of a particular department to high quality students.
- The attractiveness of different world areas to area students may have changed. The collapse of the university market should make areas with greater applied possibilities more attractive to students. Thus, the quality of the total area stock may be constant, but distributed differently across world areas.
- Some faculty see students today as "more dedicated and higher quality." However, these same individuals recognized the reduced job possibilities for their graduates. Consequently, they may be translating the devotion that area training requires today into notions of higher quality.

Ph.D. Language Training. Departments vary by whether language training is recommended or required and by the amount required. Not surprisingly, the humanities disciplines (e.g., history, language and literature, art history) have the heaviest requirements (e.g., three or more languages). Language requirements declined as the disciplines became more technical and/or applied, the quantitative social sciences and applied programs (e.g., city and regional planning) recommending but not requiring language training, or requiring fewer languages.

In the language departments, proficiency is often defined as the successful completion of required courses. For other departments, proficiency in a language usually means successfully passing a university examination, often administered by the language departments. Spoken proficiency is rarely required except in language programs that require reading, writing, and speaking skills; sometimes in anthropology-area combinations; and at universities unique in their spoken language

training. In most cases, however, languages are seen as a research tool requiring only a reading proficiency.

Across universities, language faculty who strongly advise students to obtain language training abroad do not require it simply because of funding problems. Faculty in the other humanities also tend to advise such training, and faculty across all disciplines agree that training abroad is the only way to ensure spoken proficiency. Faculty noted that facilities and funds are both barriers to obtaining such training. Some language centers abroad have closed (e.g., the Tunis and Iranian centers), but funds are the major barrier, especially in world areas that traditionally relied on PL 480 funds.

We were not in a position to evaluate the quality of language training offered at the centers we visited. However, we did find that the majority of faculty respondents believe language training has improved over the past ten years because of several factors: a growing realization on the part of academics that, even as a research tool, a foreign language is of limited use unless it can be spoken; the development of new materials to teach languages more effectively; and an acknowledgment on the part of more social scientists that language training is necessary to good disciplinary research, particularly if it is done abroad. At the same time, our interviews with students indicate that the quality of language training they receive is one of their greatest concerns. Students complained of too little emphasis on spoken proficiency and a lack of faculty appreciation for this skill. These complaints reiterate those made by government and business employers in Rand's earlier report. Consequently, more attention needs to be paid to the balance between spoken and written competencies, even though faculty perceptions that language training is improving may very well be correct.

Dissertation Research Abroad. Three-quarters of the centers in our sample report that students who need funds for dissertation research abroad obtain them. However, several noted that such funds are becoming increasingly hard to obtain, and most mentioned the increasing inadequacy of stipend levels. Western Europe seems to be the only world area with a persistent shortage of funds. Although we cannot prove this point conclusively, fragmentary data suggest that the lack of dissertation funding may be conditioning student choices of topics. In other words, they may choose topics that can be pursued in American libraries simply because they know funds for research abroad are unavailable. If this is the case, then more students have unmet needs for dissertation funds than our interview responses indicate.

Area Specialist Employment. As we have observed several times, demand or national need for area specialists can be defined in several different ways, including (1) the actual employment rates of area specialists and (2) the more normative notions of how many area specialists *ought* to be employed by the private and public sectors.

While either of these approaches to defining demand may be legitimate, we still need to know whether or not the majority of area specialists can find employment appropriate to their training. At a minimum such information is necessary for evaluating the link between Title VI legislative objectives and center-related activities.

The Phase II survey of former FLAS recipients will produce the most accurate employment picture for the last decade's area studies graduates. What the Phase I interviews showed was faculty respondents' sense of the employment market by world area and academic discipline. The academic market has essentially collapsed for most disciplines, area specialist or not. The market is better for economics and geography, but not as good for area specialists as for non-area Ph.D.s in these fields. Humanities graduates face the worst market, especially those in history and language/literature, although this varies. For example, a Ph.D. trained in an uncommon language may have a better chance at a job than other language/literature Ph.D.s: There are few jobs in that specialty, but also few are trained in it. As Ph.D.s are increasingly employed by small colleges that cannot afford specialized faculties, broadly trained Ph.D.s have better job chances than more narrowly trained ones.

The best students from the top universities still get placed in academia. However, even they are part of a general dispersal pattern. Today, students who five years ago would have been placed in the nation's best departments go to smaller, less well-known schools. Ph.D.s from less prestigious schools used to obtain jobs in the regional and community colleges. Today they cannot obtain even these and are entering business and government.

Some respondents commented on future academic demand. One hypothesized that the decline in the academic market had stopped. The still keen job competition now increasingly reflects a backlog of Ph.D.s looking for jobs. Others cautioned about the possibility of going from a specialist glut to a shortage. One major university we visited projects a 60 percent turnover in its faculty in the next 15 years through retirements and attrition to nonacademic jobs. Projections of this sort imply a need to monitor the supply of new Ph.D.s to ensure that the current oversupply does not produce an extreme response in the opposite direction.

Our respondents felt that students employed outside of academia are less apt to use their training. The Phase II survey will shed light on this question. In the meantime, however, this faculty perception further exacerbates the problem. Repeatedly students told us that faculty emphasize academic employment to the exclusion of other options. Students felt that if they were to express an interest in nonacademic employment, they would no longer be taken seriously by relevant

faculty members. This impression was confirmed in our faculty interviews. With rare exceptions, faculty rated nonacademic employment as a less acceptable alternative and had little notion of what changes would be needed in the graduate curriculum if more students were to move in this direction.

World area seems to affect employment more in the nonacademic market than the academic. Certain areas (viz., Latin America and East Asia) seem to produce more nonacademic opportunities than other areas. The geographic location of the student's graduate institution also seems to affect nonacademic employment. Students at universities situated near major political and economic organizations seem more apt to obtain nonacademic jobs.

Responses to Employment Problems. Several area-disciplinary combinations have clear employment problems. A question then arises about the ability of students, centers, universities, and individual faculty to adapt to these changes. The basic student response has been not to enter Ph.D. training, at least in certain fields. Several centers reported that applications for Ph.D. programs had dropped significantly and that more students now stop at the M.A. level. Once in the Ph.D. training, student responses seem marginal, in part because their *institutions'* responses are usually marginal. For example, some students include applied courses in their curriculum.

At the same time, some faculty reported that students seem unresponsive to nonacademic recruiters (e.g., CIA, NSA). In part this is the legacy of the Vietnam War and the university-government distrust that arose then. In part, students attracted to academic programs will not be as attracted to nonacademic opportunities. Again, however, faculty contribute to student unresponsiveness more than they may realize. They certainly influence students, by values and by example. Faculty with solely academic experience not only value this career over a nonacademic one, but they are also unable to show students how to apply their training in a nonacademic job.

In general, we found that faculties seem unable and/or unwilling to confront Ph.D. employment problems, area specialist and otherwise. We observed a sense of inadequacy among many faculty members. They are unfamiliar with nonacademic markets and do not know how to advise their students about job prospects in this area. In some cases we also sensed that the nonacademic market threatens some faculty self-definitions. They see themselves as intellectuals training students in that same image. To deal with the academic job crisis by orienting students more toward nonacademic opportunities challenges that identity.

Although we rarely saw *strategic* responses, we did see a variety of isolated actions scattered across universities that we visited. At the

administrative level, the most common response is to impose admission ceilings on departments. (Some center directors and individual faculty consider these ceilings still too high for the current market situation.) If the administration controls university fellowship funds, it sometimes allocates these to departments partly on the basis of the employment records of their graduates. In two cases it stimulated or supported the creation of a retraining program for humanities Ph.D.s. In one case the university appointed an individual to identify alternative careers for such Ph.D.s.

At the *center* level, faculty advise Ph.D. area students to add applied, quantitative, or economics courses to their normal core courses. However, it is not clear whether students not naturally inclined to such courses do well in them, or that what often looks like a scatter shot appendage to their training increases marketability. In some cases centers are moving in an applied direction at the M.A. and Ph.D. levels (e.g., working with departments to combine a marketable and coherent minor with core area training). A similar response is to move from more academic Ph.D. training to more applied M.A. training. Some centers discourage area training for students in disciplines unreceptive to such specialists. If the center strongly influences FLAS selection, the director sometimes tries to redistribute FLAS funds away from less marketable humanities disciplines.

At the *department* level, the acceptance letter is often used to warn students about the bad job market in that discipline. Several departments passively rely on reduced applications and financial aid to deal with the job problem. Some have added more marketable courses to the core training (e.g., shifting from classical language offerings to more contemporary ones). One department is increasingly admitting students with job experience of interest to nonacademic employers. Some departments, but by no means all, imposed admission ceilings of their own (e.g., reduced admissions by 25-50 percent). One language department worked with a Business School to survey employers about the language and area training they need. Some departments hire their unemployed graduates temporarily on soft money. At the *individual faculty* level, some refuse to take Ph.D. students if they feel that they cannot find jobs for them.

In sum, once students enter a Ph.D. program, there is at best limited adaptation to the current job market. In part, this lack of adaptiveness must reflect the preferences of students who enter these programs. Presumably students attracted to nonacademic markets or concerned with their marketability would not choose less marketable Ph.D. training in the first place. In part, it also reflects the influence of faculty career preferences. And, in part, it reflects a lack of coherent adaptive strategies at most academic institutions.

AREA CENTERS AND OUTREACH

In 1976, OE mandated that 15 percent of a center's Title VI budget be used for outreach. Most centers had some form of at least ad hoc outreach prior to the OE mandate, and some had well-developed activities. However, prior to the OE mandate, outreach was not a formal program at Title VI centers.

OE also mandated that centers provide at least two types of outreach services. We found that, in the aggregate, centers engage in all of these outreach activities: elementary and secondary (K-12), collegiate (including two-year community colleges), business, citizen, and government. However, we also found that each center tended to concentrate on some subset of these activities, often in ones for which they had previous experience.

K-12 outreach usually takes the form of workshops for K-12 teachers, curriculum development with K-12 teachers, and resource centers of K-12 curricular materials, only occasionally involving students directly. In these instances, outreach consists of mini-courses (e.g., a two-week module on a world area). Centers are more likely to undertake K-12 outreach under one or more of these conditions:

- The university is state-supported.
- The university is the major postsecondary resource within the state.
- The university is located in a geographically isolated town or city with bounded and manageable school districts.
- The university's School of Education finds these outreach activities useful for training its own students.
- Curriculum development projects already exist on campus.
- As part of its collegiate outreach, center faculty work with state teachers' colleges to develop K-12 curricular materials.

Collegiate outreach usually involves: workshops (e.g., curriculum development) and research seminars for faculty at surrounding colleges; access for these faculty to the world area library collections at the center's university; or a resource center for area-related curricular materials. Centers are more apt to undertake collegiate outreach when the university is state-supported, the university faculty do not define graduate training as central to their status, and the university is the main postsecondary resource in the state. However, several of the major private universities we visited also engage in this type of outreach. A number of center respondents noted that such activities are becoming increasingly important as more and more center graduates take positions in smaller institutions. These graduates need the support of an area center not just for its library resources, but also to break the

intellectual isolation they may feel teaching at an institution with few other area specialists.

Business outreach takes the form of conferences or seminars, sometimes ad hoc and sometimes on a regular basis. Business outreach primarily occurs at centers located in or near cities that have substantial international commerce with nations in the center's world area. We did not observe much business outreach at centers in the Midwest or at those based in non-urban areas.

Citizen outreach consists usually of these kinds of activities: language and area extension courses in the evenings, on weekends, or via TV; faculty speakers for citizen groups (e.g., World Affairs Council groups); public lectures, often with outside speakers; films open to the public; and artistic events (e.g., shows in local art museums). During foreign policy debates or crises, ad hoc citizen outreach occurs in the form of media interviews with center faculty. This center function was particularly important during the recent Iranian and Afghanistan crises. Center faculty saw this activity as particularly helpful when the center was located in a geographically isolated state or community.

Input to *government* consists of publications in journals read by policymakers (e.g., *Foreign Affairs*), ad hoc seminars, and crisis consultations. Prestigious Eastern universities account for most of the government input that we observed. These universities are more accessible geographically; their faculty are apt to have published widely and therefore to be known outside of academic circles; and historically these universities have trained many of the nation's policy elites.

Center and Faculty Attitudes Toward Outreach

Among our respondents, center and area faculty attitudes toward outreach are evenly distributed between those regarding it favorably and those opposed to it. Center directors usually have more positive attitudes toward outreach than the average area faculty member. Prestigious centers and universities differ in their attitudes toward outreach. However, prestigious (usually private, but sometimes public) institutions account for almost all cases of negative attitudes. Although not all state institutions regard outreach positively, those faculty with positive attitudes are located disproportionately at state universities.

Some who oppose outreach argue that it is outside the traditional research and teaching mission of the university. Most of the those who oppose it, however, acknowledge outreach as a legitimate function of the university, but question OE's definition of outreach. These faculty argue that by expecting centers to mount a formal outreach *program*, OE is unnecessarily limiting what faculty can provide the outside com-

munity. We found that even when centers actively oppose outreach, the faculty members engage in considerable outreach on an individual basis. For example, one historian we interviewed mentioned that he was travelling several hundred miles the next day to speak to a League of Women Voters meeting. When asked why he was willing to do this and numerous other activities like it, he replied that he considered it his obligation as a scholar. Yet this same man opposes OE's notion of a formal outreach program. In other words, much faculty opposition to outreach may be due more to OE's definition than to the general notion of opening the university to the larger community.

Continuation Without OE Mandate

Center directors were asked to estimate whether outreach would continue without an OE mandate. Their estimates distributed quite evenly across one of these categories: outreach would continue essentially unchanged; outreach would continue, but on a reduced scale; outreach would continue on a much reduced scale or would virtually disappear. Patterned relationships exist between these expectations and center/faculty attitudes toward outreach. If directors expect outreach to continue unchanged, in most cases the center and faculty have positive outreach attitudes. In all cases where directors expect outreach to be reduced dramatically, the center faculty have negative attitudes toward it. In those cases where outreach is expected to continue in a reduced form, cuts are expected in the most expensive activities, in ones perceived as least compatible with the university mission (e.g., K-12 outreach), or in ones that require participation by the most negative segments of the faculty. In instances where center directors expect only moderate cuts and faculty attitudes are negative, the center's outreach does not currently involve most faculty (e.g., the center conducts K-12 outreach primarily through the university's School of Education).

Realistic Outreach Objectives

We suggest three criteria for establishing federal outreach objectives:

1. Centers should continue to do what most are already doing; that is, concentrating their outreach energies on only one or two types of outreach. Furthermore, centers should be allowed to choose the types most compatible with their resources and preferences.

University and faculty abilities and attitudes constrain the type and extent of outreach that centers can sponsor. In our discussion of center functions we noted that at least some centers conduct each of OE's mandated outreach categories (K-12, collegiate, business, or citizen). However, most centers concentrate their efforts on only one or two activity types. Their choices generally make sense, given the university's geographic location, its historic mission, its area faculties' specific talents, and the presence of campus (e.g., curriculum development groups) units relevant to certain types of outreach. For example, centers in cities with substantial international commerce can and usually do conduct business outreach. State universities often play historic roles as resource centers for smaller schools in the state; area centers at these universities in fact usually provide substantial outreach to regional teachers' colleges, smaller four-year institutions, and community colleges.

2. Government outreach should be an activity that meets OE's definition of outreach.

Centers at those prestigious institutions where faculty attitudes are negative toward outreach are comfortable providing expertise to the country's foreign policy establishment. This type of outreach is as compatible with these schools' historic roles as collegiate outreach seems to be with those of some state universities. However, this activity is not defined as outreach in OE's regulations. Yet, given the original impetus for Title VI, it seems an appropriate diffusion activity for area centers. As we indicated in chapter one, a primary reason for establishing Title VI was to create a stock of area experts that federal agencies could consult (as well as employ).

3. Requirements for outreach may need to differ depending on the type of center and institution.

As we noted above, those centers funded as undergraduate centers, as well as comprehensive ones at less prestigious universities, often perform a critical outreach function in their region. On the other hand, centers at prestigious universities tend to concentrate more on specialist training. Faculty incentives at these institutions are such that research, scholarly publication, and Ph.D. training must take precedence over outreach and other forms of community service. At least within the structure of a tiered system of centers, it seems that centers could be rewarded for what they do best and, at the same time, be expected to use their center grant to perform more of these activities. In other words, all centers should be required both to train specialists and sponsor outreach activities. But the mix of these two activities can vary depending on the center type. The New Title VI legislation recently

enacted by Congress lends itself to this type of flexibility because centers can compete in different tiers, each having their own award criteria and program regulations.

Summary

In describing the Title VI centers—their functions and how they relate to the larger university—we have attempted to address the first issue posed at the beginning of this chapter: the extent to which area centers further the Title VI program goals of specialist training and general diffusion of international knowledge. We found that at the B.A. and M.A. levels centers play a central role in organizing and administering various types of area studies programs. At the Ph.D. level, their role is less central but they still play an important support function by allocating some fellowship funds, providing students with a visible area studies identity, and by sponsoring enrichment activities. While forces beyond their control are making them less successful in this role, many centers also function as area studies advocates keeping this cause visible to university administrators and academic departments.

The expectation in originally establishing the area centers was that they would enhance the training of specialists by encouraging interdisciplinary teaching and research. As we noted, very little interdisciplinary research occurs at the centers we visited. The feeling among faculty was that Title VI could do little to facilitate such endeavors without research funds whose award was contingent on an interdisciplinary approach. Interdisciplinary courses are also infrequent, although offered at some centers and highly rated by students there. One of the best examples we saw was a two-semester, core course offered at a Latin American center. The center pays the salary of the professor who organizes and directs the course, but thirty-five other faculty members present at least one lecture. This course offers students a broad substantive overview of Latin America, as well as a sense of how various disciplines approach its study. For the most part, however, we found that "interdisciplinary" means neither formal teaching nor research, but rather some form of ongoing professional contact under the sponsorship of the centers.

As external conditions have changed, both at the level of university financial health and the employment market for area specialists, centers have engaged in little adaptive behavior. Most are operating as they did ten or fifteen years ago, and with a few notable exceptions we saw little in the way of innovation. Minimal effort has been made to reorient existing programs in either a more interdisciplinary or applied direction. For example, at the terminal M.A. level where this should be

the most likely to happen, almost half the programs we examined still have a predominately academic or enrichment focus. There is no question that such changes are difficult. We discussed the organizational barriers to stronger ties between centers and professional schools. It is also true that those specializing in a subject like medieval Islamic history are unlikely to feel comfortable taking a course in econometrics or policy analysis. Yet evidence of successful adaptive behavior at some institutions suggests that others can change without compromising the integrity of existing programs.

Since we did not evaluate the Section 603 Citizen Education component of Title VI, we have no way to compare this mechanism for general enrichment with that provided by the centers. It does seem clear, however, that most centers have been conscientious in sponsoring outreach activities, regardless of faculty attitudes. Outreach is almost solely a center function and would not be performed by academic departments except as individual faculty members volunteered to make presentations on a very ad hoc basis. Most universities have some other outreach mechanisms in the form of their alumni or extension organizations, but the centers remain the predominant means of disseminating world area knowledge outside the campus.

As we noted, a center's choice of outreach activities justifiably depends on the center's location. Consequently, outreach activities vary greatly from center to center and not all have been equally effective. Centers do not have adequate resources to start in-school K-12 programs that can have any widespread impact. If centers are interested in working at the K-12 level, their impact will be greater if they concentrate on curriculum and materials development and on continuing education for teachers. Probably the greatest impact of center outreach occurs at the post-secondary level. Centers can also be instrumental in maintaining the competencies of faculty teaching at smaller institutions.

In sum, center outreach seems to be making a substantial contribution to Title VI's enrichment objective. Although other mechanisms may be more appropriate, we are not in a position to judge this issue. However, most of the substantive area studies expertise in this country resides in colleges and universities. Therefore, if outreach activities are to be well-informed and grounded in a solid knowledge base, centers will remain essential in this endeavor.

THE NEED FOR AREA CENTERS

The second question posed at the beginning of this chapter asked what would be lost if area centers no longer existed or were allowed to

decline in size. In this section, we examine that issue by assessing the vulnerability of center activities to the loss of the center itself, to the loss of Title VI funds, and to cuts in university financial support.

Center Activities and the Loss of the Center

Independent of the financial resources they command, centers also perform certain activities as a result of their organizational status on campus. Some of these activities are purely administrative and others involve the center in what are essentially lobbying activities. Our interviews suggest that the following activities rely heavily on a center's organizing or pressure group potential: providing intellectual support for area faculty and students based in disciplinary departments; organizing interdisciplinary intellectual activities; pressuring disciplinary departments to hire area specialists; pressuring administrators to maintain small enrollment language or area studies classes; coordinating area training across departments (e.g., by reducing course schedule conflicts); pressuring faculty to do outreach; and monitoring the world area library collections.[33]

If the center ceases to exist, these activities are more apt to be maintained if any of several substitutes exist on campus: an established area program with a coordinating structure separate from the center; one or two established departments that are virtually synonymous with the center; or a strong international studies unit. Of the centers we studied, about two-fifths have no readily identifiable substitute structure. About two-fifths are synonymous with an independently governed area program or with one or two established departments. About a fifth have strong international studies organizations on campus. Thus, it is likely that at a majority of the campuses we visited, the organizational and political role now played by area centers would continue in at least some form. At the remaining campuses with no parallel area studies structures these activities might very well disappear.

Center Vulnerability to Loss of Title VI Funds

We define a center activity as vulnerable to a loss of Title VI funds if these funds constitute a disproportionate share of the total allocated to the activity; the university administration is less apt to assume the OE share of that activity; and external funds (i.e., non-Title VI and

[33]How vulnerable any of these functions is to a center loss obviously varies with the particular institution and center. For example, if departments resist hiring area specialists even in the *presence* of a center, its loss will have little effect.

non-university funds) cannot be used for that activity or are diminishing (e.g., PL-480 funds).

Several factors determine a university's willingness to pick up the OE share:

First, does the university traditionally support that kind of activity? For example, although all universities traditionally fund teaching, several do not see outreach as a university responsibility.

Second, how large in absolute dollars is the OE contribution and how fiscally constrained is the university? For example, in the next decade universities in the Sunbelt project economic growth. Consequently, institutions there still have some flexibility in what they fund as compared with schools in other parts of the country.

Third, how committed is the university: to the center itself; to an international studies organization of which it is a part; or generally to foreign language and international studies? As we noted in previous sections, some universities actively support the international studies organizations on their campus. Others have laissez-faire attitudes.

Fourth, for state universities, how much does the state legislature constrain their response? For example, state legislatures tend to allocate funds on the basis of course head counts. A university administration may be sympathetic to maintaining small language classes, but limited in its ability to protect them.

Outreach, enrichment, and other activities especially reliant on support staff's coordinating efforts are most vulnerable to Title VI cuts. Language training appears vulnerable for some world areas and universities.

Outreach is vulnerable at about three-quarters of our sampled centers. OE funds account, on average, for a larger share of the total cost of this activity than for any other activity. Across all centers, the average is 64 percent, but for five centers OE contributes 100 percent of the cost. At the same time, universities traditionally do not see this activity as their funding responsibility.

Enrichment is also vulnerable. The OE share of this activity's cost exceeds 40 percent for about half of the centers. Universities are also less apt to absorb OE cuts in this activity category. Although the absolute dollar amounts are small, universities tend to see activities such as guest speakers, conferences, and travel as expendable items during periods of fiscal stringency.

OE funds buy an average of about 40 percent of *support personnel* associated with our sampled centers; over 50 percent in more than a third of the cases. If centers use external funds to justify such personnel, this line item is very vulnerable to the loss of Title VI funds. Since support personnel perform coordinating tasks like scheduling outreach and enrichment activities, these functions would suffer from the loss of such individuals.

Library staff and acquisitions for the center's world area are surprisingly vulnerable. OE contributes at least a fifth of these costs for about a quarter of the centers. At the same time, universities historically try to protect library facilities; thus, in theory, we could expect universities to pick up the OE share of these costs. However, library acquisitions—area and non-area—are becoming increasingly costly. If a university has not dealt with the *general* library cost problem (e.g., by sharing collections with other universities), it may be less able to absorb OE cuts than its traditional priorities would indicate.

More than a third of our sampled centers use at least 20 percent of their total OE funds for *language training*. However, we do not know how much of the overall language training at these centers depends on OE funds. Respondents perceive substantial dependence, especially for African, East European, and other less common languages. They perceive this dependence in two ways: the actual hours of training that OE funds purchase (e.g., eight parttime teaching positions at one university), and university support for small language classes leveraged by Title VI funds. Whatever proportion of total language training Title VI buys or leverages, we suspect that it would be relatively endangered by the loss of Title VI funds. State legislative pressures and university fiscal constraints make Title VI-funded, nontenured language positions generally vulnerable. At a few centers university administrators openly stated that they would not or could not absorb these language positions.

Finally, *area faculties* at over half of the centers in our sample include at least one soft money position supported by external (usually Title VI) funds. Although the faculty budget is the main priority at universities, administrations at about half of these institutions indicated that they could not pick up or would have difficulty picking up such positions.

Center Vulnerability to University Budget Cuts

As noted in previous sections, university support of centers goes primarily to teaching and libraries—at our sample centers an average 71 percent of support for faculty salaries and 14 percent for library staff and acquisitions. Universities allocate only small percentages of their total allocation to outreach, enrichment, and support staff. If universities suffer budget cuts, their present contribution to the latter three activities would be vulnerable because they represent activities peripheral to a university's primary mission.

The vulnerability of *language and area faculty* depends basically

on the proportion of faculty, tenured and nontenured. Of nontenured positions, the externally funded ("soft money") positions would be less vulnerable than ones that depend on university funds. For our sample centers, an average two-thirds of the area faculty are tenured, which leaves an average one-third vulnerable to university budget cuts.

Nothing in our data indicates that area libraries would be any more or less vulnerable to university budget cuts than non-area libraries. The fact that area students and faculty depend heavily on library collections might mean that library cuts would affect area more than non-area students and faculty.

Faculty and library-related center activities are relatively less vulnerable to loss of the center, loss of Title VI funds, or university budget cuts. Title VI contributes smaller proportions of the total budgets for these items, and universities define them as central to their mission. The only exception here might be language training in the less common languages or advanced courses in the common languages. Their small enrollment requires any pressure that the center as an organized constituency can bring to bear. These courses depend more than other area-related courses on Title VI funds and are vulnerable to university budget cuts, both because they tend to be taught by nontenured faculty and because they are small.

The interdisciplinary, enrichment, and outreach activities (and support staff required for such activities) are relatively vulnerable to the loss of the center, loss of Title VI funds, and university budget cuts. These activities depend heavily on the coordinating, and pressure group activities of the center. At the same time, about three-fifths of our sampled centers have an apparent backup organization that could absorb some of these activities. Title VI contributes relatively large proportions to the total costs of each of these items. Although the dollar amounts are small, they represent low priority items to universities under general fiscal constraints. Thus, universities would be less apt to absorb Title VI cuts and more apt to reduce their own contribution to these activities during budget cuts.

Center Adaptation to Potential Title VI or University Fund Cuts

Ultimately, the vulnerability of center activities depends on what centers can and actually do to protect themselves politically and economically. They can protect themselves in at least four ways: increase the demand for their foreign language and area product; broaden their constituency within the university; cut costs without reducing benefits; and obtain non-Title VI external funds that protect them from university and Title VI cuts.

Centers can increase the demand for foreign language and area training at the undergraduate or graduate levels. The data on current employer demand for professional-area combinations suggest that centers cannot substantially increase professional school student demand for area training. At the undergraduate level they can increase demand by introducing innovative courses (e.g., interdisciplinary courses on topical subjects such as food, or even entirely new majors). For example, more innovative international studies majors now combine several components such as language training, traditional international relations, and a component that is topical or pre-professional (e.g., a business sequence). At the graduate level, centers that introduce a market-responsive vocational M.A. are more able to protect themselves from reduced demand for academic M.A. and Ph.D. training.

Centers can increase their campus constituency in at least two ways. First, they can strengthen any potentially powerful international studies unit on campus. Or they can become a central support for a powerful existing unit, like an applied research or training organization. Second, we have noted that current employer demand will probably restrict professional school student interest in area training. However, centers can institutionalize selective professional school links that at least broaden their political base on campus.

Centers generally operate quite efficiently with the funds available to them. However, they can retain benefits and cut costs or increase benefits at the same cost by sharing the costs of an activity among other centers on campus (usually through an umbrella international studies unit) or between centers at different universities.

Finally, centers (or international studies units of which they are a part) can engage in independent fund raising drives that provide the center with an endowment. (Several centers in our sample already have such endowments or are currently attempting to raise the funds.)

When we looked at the adaptiveness of our sampled centers, we saw two basic types. About a fifth show current or potential movement on all or more of our adaptiveness criteria. A very few show partial adaptiveness. For example, one is playing a major role in developing an innovative undergraduate major in international studies. Another is instituting a solid vocational M.A. program. However, most centers show very little, if any, adaptive behavior.[34]

In attempting to project what would be lost if area centers no longer existed or were allowed to decline in size and resources, we find that outreach, enrichment, and some language instruction would be serious-

[34]In a few cases the international studies unit to which the sampled center belongs, but not the center itself, is showing strong adaptiveness.

ly jeopardized. Library acquisitions would also decline and the number of nontenured faculty could be reduced. The more organizational and political roles played by centers are in one sense less vulnerable since a majority of institutions in our sample have parallel structures to assume these functions. At the same time, a center can play this organizational and political role precisely because it does have fiscal resources at its disposal. So it is likely that without the center and its independent funding, area studies would be less visible and compete less effectively for internal university resources. Clearly, then, the centers are critical for some of the area studies activities now undertaken on college and university campuses. However, a question again remains about their continuing ability to perform these functions if centers do not begin to adapt to the changed conditions they face.

AREA CENTERS AND THE ROLE OF OE

The final policy question in this chapter concerns OE's role in supporting area centers. We examine its administrative policies and its ability to encourage centers to meet Title VI program goals, including: respondent perceptions of Title VI strengths and weaknesses; the quality of program implementation by OE staff; OE communications with grant applicants and recipients; the allocation of center grants; and the panel review process for selecting grant recipients.

Program Strengths and Weaknesses

Strengths. Center respondents uniformly value Title VI for its historic contribution and for the margin that it provides during a period of university fiscal retrenchment. They feel that over the last two decades Title VI has played an important role in the development of foreign language and international studies at American universities. As one knowledgeable center director observed, Title VI has contributed to building a viable network of area centers across the country. Particularly now as universities face a period of fiscal stringency, Title VI funds can provide an important margin for foreign language and area activities, especially those most vulnerable to university budget cuts.

Respondents attributed these Title VI effects to the passage of the legislation itself, to program funds, and to the Title VI grants competition. The initial federal legislation and subsequent funding signalled international studies as a national priority to states and universities. Center faculty could then translate these external resources into addi-

tional financial and political support within the university. For example, they could use Title VI foreign language priorities and support for area library collections to encourage university support for these activities. In some cases they could also use FLAS fellowships to generate university matching funds. Title VI funds are also valuable in and of themselves, especially FLAS fellowships and library, language training, and enrichment funds. Finally, faculty feel that the existence of the Title VI grants competition has stimulated further development of area studies on individual campuses.

Weaknesses. According to respondents, the major weaknesses in Title VI concern current program objectives. With a primary federal objective of foreign language and area training, Title VI has never funded research, except as it directly supports curriculum development (Section 602 grants). As Chapter 1 indicated, its current objectives differ from earlier ones, not so much in their educational purpose, but in the beneficiaries of foreign language and area training. Over time an increasing number of groups have been defined as appropriate Title VI recipients.

As a result, Title VI currently includes very diverse aims even within the overall objective of specialist training. First, it is trying to achieve geographic dispersion of program funds, an objective that has sometimes required that Title VI funds be used to build, not just enhance, center capacity. More frequently it requires some compromise with the notion of an absolute-quality standard. For example, undergraduate centers do not discernibly differ from comprehensive centers except in the quality of their graduate training and library resources. However, they are funded because they often represent the only regional training resource in a particular world area. At the same time, Title VI is trying to stimulate foreign language and area training at all levels of the educational system: K-12, undergraduate, and graduate. It is also trying to diffuse area knowledge to non-student groups such as citizens and businessmen.

Center faculty asked to specify the preferred purpose of Title VI selected objectives that characterized the program's earlier years. Most stated that the primary objective (or an important one) should be specialist training, although several defined "specialist" broadly to include individuals trained to meet government and business, as well as university, needs. Several perceived internationalizing undergraduate education or outreach, especially to the general public, as subsidiary objectives. Only three centers selected as a primary objective enhancing a global perspective at all levels of the educational system.

Center respondents recognize the divergence between their preferred goals and the diversity of federal objectives. None quarrel with the value of any of the federal objectives. However, they argue that a

fairly straightforward program has been increasingly burdened with the equity concerns of the late 1960s and 1970s without commensurate increases in federal appropriations. They point out that subdividing Title VI appropriations among an increasing number of objectives simply endangers its ability to carry out any objective well.

They also feel that university area centers are not the optimal institutions for achieving certain federal Title VI objectives, especially outreach to elementary and secondary education. Although some center directors said that outreach had "opened" the centers in a positive way, even these individuals noted that center faculty are and should be constrained by the university's primary mission of teaching and research. Area faculty do not usually enthusiastically support outreach. However, even if they do, this diversion of effort from the university's primary mission could eventually undermine campus political support for foreign language and area studies and diminish the ability of area faculty to deliver effective education at the undergraduate and graduate levels.

Centers that fall into the capacity building category also expressed concern. They feel that they need more funds to create an international education expertise on their campuses than Title VI could possibly provide any one institution. As an administrator at one such institution noted, "Title VI simply raises expectations. It does not let us realize them."

Essentially, although different respondents used different words and examples, they said the same thing. The federal government needs to choose a smaller and more coherent set of objectives for Title VI. The program is fiscally too small to be all things to all people. Expanding Title VI program objectives has simply created an unhealthy competition among universities of different types and among different levels of the educational system.

Not surprisingly, respondents also complain that federal signals about Title VI objectives are unclear, unstable, and without coherent substance. As one center director put it, "Title VI priorities have changed faster than some people change their underwear." Although more colorful than most comments we heard, he echoed a sentiment shared by many of his colleagues. Other directors complained that OE stressed outreach one year and then after centers had responded to this concern, OE criticized them for doing too much outreach, saying "core program" should now be their emphasis. Center faculty basically feel that OE is unclear about what the program is supposed to accomplish and attribute this confusion to the multiple constituency pressures on the program.

Finally, some respondents believe that Title VI lacks vision. Primarily university administrators familiar with Title VI, or heads of

major international studies units, these respondents feel that Title VI still presumes a cold war mentality and an expanding, not a contracting, market for area Ph.D.s in many of OE's priority disciplines. Consequently, these respondents fear that Title VI is becoming increasingly anachronistic. They point out that the nation's international problems are still political, but of a multi-polar, not bipolar, variety. These problems are also markedly more economic in nature. Such respondents noted that the number of FLAS fellowships and OE's priority disciplines show little cognizance of the dismal job market for area Ph.D.s from many of these disciplines.

These same respondents suggest a range of programmatic changes that could align Title VI more with current international and job market realities. These changes all presume broadening the definition of "specialist" to include individuals trained to serve business and government, as well as university, needs. They also include an applied or vocational dimension. The suggestions include:

- Systematically examining the job market to determine the need for vocational M.A.s in different world and topical/professional areas.
- Allocating more FLAS fellowships to students in training programs with actual job possibilities (economics, professional schools, topical programs).
- Making it easier for topical teaching and research institutes to become centers.
- Encouraging links among area, topical, and professional units on the same campus through financial incentives for joint appointments and conditional on the offering of some applied courses.
- Encouraging innovative language training for students in social science graduate training, topical programs, and professional schools.
- Encouraging international studies umbrella organizations and the professional associations to monitor the value of more vocational training to business and government.

Quality of Title VI Implementation

Center respondents generally appreciate that the OE staff has had to function with too little staff and under demoralizing conditions within their own agency. Both newer and older Title VI centers found project officers conscientious and competent at a procedural and technical level. However, they reported variation in competence among the total

staff. Older Title VI centers reported a decline in staff competence across time and an increasingly weary staff. Both types of centers reported that staff discretionary decisions are poorer than their technical decisions.

Center respondents made a few major criticisms of the staff's substantive governance of Title VI. First, centers of all types reported that the OE staff persist in a naive view of universities. For example, OE does not seem to understand that an area center has limited power to affect the disciplinary departments and professional schools—especially with fewer external resources today than in the 1960s and under today's keen resource competition within universities. OE does not seem to appreciate that universities are relatively decentralized power structures, with departments and schools having substantial autonomy; a large proportion of their faculties are also tenured. Consequently, both of these factors produce conservative institutions relatively immune to outside pressure. OE staff also do not understand the constraints imposed by state legislatures on state universities.[35] For example, OE's priority disciplines often do not reflect student demand. If a center is subject to legislative head counts, it cannot be responsive to these OE priorities.

Second, within the OE context, Title VI objectives become slogans and cliches, mechanistically applied. "Links between professional schools and area centers," "outreach," and "consortia," for example, operate as words without substance. OE reveals no understanding of what actually implementing such ideas on campuses requires.[36] They also apply them indiscriminately; without regard to the particular needs or resources of a particular center or university. For example, K-12 outreach may make sense on a campus with an active School of Education, but be much more difficult to implement at a university without existing ties to local school districts.

Finally, center respondents noted that OE is ideally situated to provide leadership of certain kinds in foreign language and area studies. However, the staff rarely take these leadership opportunities.[37] For example, library resources are especially key in foreign language and area studies. At the same time, maintaining these collections is becoming extremely expensive. The technology exists to rationalize

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[35]A provost at a major state university observed that the Title VI staff do not seem to understand that outreach buys an area center absolutely no political points on campus or with the state legislature.

[36]In several cases this chapter has validated this complaint. For example, the discussion of professional school-center links revealed major disincentives for professional school faculty and students to form such links.

[37]Respondents understand that the creative leadership they want requires time that an overworked staff does not have and internal political support that DIE also lacks.

acquisitions across universities. OE could play a lead role here, but has not done so. Even in response to requests from center outreach coordinators and professional associations, OE has taken no initiative in setting up outreach coordinator networks or the means for cataloging and diffusing outreach materials and experiences of different centers.

OE Communication with Grant Applicants and Recipients

Title VI centers and OE staff have five opportunities for communication: OE staff site visits to the center; the periodic OE staff and center directors' meetings; telephone conversations and letters; feedback on the Title VI centers' annual final reports; and OE staff feedback on the center's grant proposal. Overall, communication between the OE staff and Title VI center administrators seems cordial. However, some major centers and universities maintained that relations are becoming more strained between them as Title VI moves increasingly from quality to equity concerns.[38]

In general, center respondents feel that site visits and the annual center directors' meeting miss a number of opportunities for better communication. Not infrequently they described site visits as perfunctory and the annual meeting as badly organized. In both situations they often said that the OE staff "talks and doesn't listen." Respondents generally feel that OE is responsive to fairly routine inquiries that can be handled in telephone calls and letters. They reported, however, that they receive no feedback on their annual reports.

OE Staff Site Visits. All center directors in our sample reported at least one OE staff site visit in the last four years. Centers farther from Washington, D.C., expressed a desire for more site visits. Centers in the Western states, in particular, felt that they have little access to OE. New centers and more marginal ones also expressed a desire for more site visits. Either because they are new to or on the fringes of the Title VI network, these centers find government regulations, the applications process, and the review process somewhat bewildering and mysterious.

More marginal centers, which reported longer and more useful site visits than the older, major centers, found the visits helpful in clarifying OE priorities and the overall funding process. Several also reported that the OE staff had helped them by pressuring the university ad-

[38]The director of one major center felt that he was expected to feel ashamed of his center's quality and apologize for it. Other major center directors said that the OE staff sometimes conveyed a punitive attitude toward them.

ministration on their behalf. The more major centers often complained that the visits are so short as to be pro forma, often lasting only a day; sometimes OE staff visit more than one center on the campus in that day. These centers feel that the site visits provide little opportunity to establish communication with the Title VI staff. Although the quality of the visit obviously varies with the quality of the visiting OE staff member, centers often found that the OE visitor tended to talk, not listen, and to address somewhat mechanical and procedural issues rather than broader ones of interest to center faculty.

Periodic OE Staff and Center Director Meetings. The Title VI staff intermittently schedule a meeting of all Title VI directors with the centers paying all travel expenses out of their grants. Center respondents generally assessed these meetings as badly organized and a waste of time. They also saw them as a seriously missed opportunity to establish a dialogue among different types of centers and between center directors and the Title VI staff.

Directors are notified of the meeting dates very late[39] and receive only a sketchy agenda shortly before the meeting. They have no chance to shape the agenda and at the meetings themselves have found that they have little chance for input. Again, the OE staff tend to talk more than listen.

Although directors feel that past meetings have been virtually useless, they do not think that the idea of a meeting is bad. They believe that meetings could easily be made useful for all parties if OE staff and center directors would discuss the agenda and invest effort in careful planning. One center director suggested an alternative to a meeting with all center directors: a series of smaller meetings, organized around each of the world areas and involving the relevant OE staff, the professional association for the world area, and the Title VI centers for that world area.

Routine Inquiries. Center directors generally praised the OE staff for their responsiveness to fairly routine questions (e.g., clarification of the proposal guidelines). However, scattered respondent comments suggested that the staff is not as responsive to nonroutine requests. For example, one outreach coordinator who requested a list of all Title VI center outreach coordinators so that she could communicate with them did not receive a response. The same person also asked for copies of the outreach sections of the Title VI center proposals so that she could identify which centers had implemented outreach ideas being explored at her center. Again, she received no OE response. Newly funded Title VI centers indicated that they had needed and requested guidance on

[39]Center directors that we interviewed as late as mid-March had not yet been notified of the center directors' meeting that had been scheduled for March 23-25.

preparing their budgets, but received little or no help. Some centers informed by OE staff that they had to apply as a consortium requested guidance on establishing one and received little or no help.

Feedback on Final Reports. Title VI centers are required to submit an annual final report on their Title VI activities for the previous year. Center directors noted that the OE staff could use these reports to comment on a Title VI center's operations. However, few have received any feedback on these reports, and several have concluded that they are only ritualistic exercises.

The Title VI Funding Process

Virtually all center directors identified major problems in the grants application process:

Timing of the Center Grant and FLAS Award Decisions. Virtually all center directors reported that the very late timing of the center grant and FLAS awards decision is inefficient and, at a personal level, inhumane. In the 1979 competition, applicants received the results in the middle of August, two to four weeks before the academic year began.

Directors bluntly pointed out that if they could know the award decisions at least six months earlier, they could benefit more from Title VI funds. First, late award decisions create hiring and retention havoc. Centers do not know whether they can retain faculty already on campus whose appointments depend in part or whole on Title VI funds—and the courses they teach—until a few weeks before the term begins. If the center's proposed program involves hiring new individuals (e.g., language staff) or bringing in a visiting scholar for a semester, the award timing means that the center must either recruit at that late date, postpone, or cancel hiring plans. One center reported that they had planned to use Title VI funds to hire an anthropologist, but by the time they heard they had received the money, they could not bring candidates to campus for interviews. Consequently, with only a telephone interview, they hired someone whose English turned out to be too poor for him to teach effectively.

Second, centers lose at least a quarter or a semester in initiating new program elements. For example, if they had planned to use Title VI funds for a workshop series, they cannot implement this until well into the first semester.

Third, courses that depend wholly on Title VI funds cannot be listed in the spring catalogues from which students choose their fall schedules. The courses are thus probably underenrolled—either because interested students do not know about them or because they have already

formulated their schedules. If a center plans to use Title VI funds to introduce a course, the timing of the award decision undermines a valid test of student interest.

Fourth, the late award means that the center cannot use the award as leverage on the university administration in its spring budget deliberations for the subsequent academic year.

Fifth, the late FLAS award decisions mean that the center and affiliated faculty cannot use FLAS fellowships to compete for the best graduate applicants. The centers most hurt by the late decision are ones at state universities, which usually have fewer alternative sources of fellowship funds than private universities. The late FLAS decisions also mean that these fellowships cannot be used to entice the best students already on campus into further foreign language and area commitment. The late center and FLAS award decisions also obviously produce substantial hardship for faculty and students dependent on Title VI funds. For example, the 1979 award decision was so late that at one center a very promising assistant professor funded fulltime by Title VI left the university to seek a job in another city. When the center finally heard two weeks before the beginning of class that it had won the award, he then went through a second move back to the campus. For graduate students depending on the FLAS award to continue their graduate training the late award decision means living in limbo until two or so weeks before the beginning of the new term.

The timing of the center and FLAS award decisions have what should be unacceptable program and personal costs. We suggest that the same schedule could be used, but the award made for the academic year after the award decision. Thus, awards made in mid-August of 1979 would be for programmatic activities beginning in the 1980-81 academic year.

Application Costs. Established centers observed that the absolute costs of applying for center and FLAS awards have increased in the last decade as absolute dollar awards have decreased. Thus, even if they win a competition, they have decreasing net funds for center activities. One consortium estimated that their joint proposal for the 1979-80 competition cost $30,000 and their continuation proposal $10,000. For this particular two year funding cycle, their costs represented 7 percent of the total center and FLAS funds the two universities received. (Their costs represented 17 percent of the total center funds that they received.)

Newly funded centers, for whom the application process is unfamiliar and therefore even more costly, noted that the proposal requirements represent a formidable barrier to entering the competition. Other respondents estimated that it takes about four times longer to prepare the center application today than a decade ago. Several recog-

nized that as competition for center grants has increased, applicants try to improve their chances by including more material than the government really needs.[40] They also noted that since 1973, when outreach functions were first required of centers, center applicants have had to address a much broader range of activities than when their main functions were solely foreign language and area training. Virtually all center directors were willing to accept a page limit on the proposal. Some could not name an exact limit, but several thought that the necessary information could probably be conveyed in approximately fifty pages, excluding faculty vitas. The panel reviewers that we interviewed agreed that proposals could be restricted in length with no loss of information.

Proposal and Annual Report Data Requirements. Almost all center directors identified at least one required piece of data that they found impossible to supply validly. On the grant application, many mentioned the difficulty of assessing the population served by the center. The annual report form has several difficult data elements: the number of undergraduates who have taken 15 or more units of the language and area courses listed in the center's proposal; the post-B.A. career plans of these students; the race and ethnicity of all students who have taken 15 or more relevant units.

Center directors noted that most schools do not keep records in ways that allow a center to identify which undergraduates have taken 15 or more units of the relevant courses. Center directors noted that even if they could identify these students, they could not provide valid data on their post-B.A. career plans. At graduation many students do not yet know what they are going to do; others' plans are tenuous and subject to change. At some schools, center directors noted that students resented questions about their "ethnicity"—they considered themselves "Americans."

The Panel Review Process

During every Title VI competition year, OE convenes review panels to judge center and FLAS applications in each of the world areas. The panels presumably consist of individuals knowledgeable about the world area and the institutional requirements for a successful center. Panel members are expected to excuse themselves from judging an application if any conflict of interest might exist (e.g., an application from the individual's university).

Review Panel Composition. The composition of the 1979 review

[40]The panel reviewers that we interviewed agreed that proposals often contain "fluff."

panels seriously undermined the trust that our sample of centers had in the review process. Although many of the most serious criticisms came from respondents at major institutions, several center directors at other schools were equally critical of the panels' composition. Almost all center directors in the sample were at least troubled by what they perceived as the seriously reduced quality of the panels.

In the early years of Title VI, the review panels consisted disproportionately of faculty members from major universities—and frequently from Title VI centers. These same individuals also tended to serve as reviewers over time. To eliminate the possibility of an "old boy" bias, since 1973 OE has broadened the panels' composition and increased the number of reviewers without prior panel service. Some OE policy staff have also pressured the Title VI staff to use these review panels as affirmative action vehicles by making them representative not only of smaller, non-establishment schools but also of minorities and women.

Thus, our data indicate that the proposed 1979 panels consisted of 67 percent new readers, 36 percent minorities, and 31 percent women. We also know the institutional affiliations of the 1979 panelists. Although the current academic market makes institutional affiliation a poorer indicator of the academic quality of younger members, it remains a reasonable indicator for older members. It also tends to indicate whether the individual is apt to know the relative quality of centers around the country. Finally, it tends to indicate whether the individual is apt to be familiar with the institutional requirements for a high quality center. In general, the 1979 panel members came from small schools (often undergraduate only), from lower status branches of state universities or from geographically isolated schools. The organizational affiliations of the 1979 panel have lower reputations than those of the 1976 panel.[41]

The center directors in our sample and the 1979 panel reviewers we interviewed were in surprising agreement about the problems and strengths of the 1979 panels. One center director said that many choices seemed inappropriate, some even bizarre. Similarly, several panel members could not understand why they had been selected to serve on the panels. Several directors said that the panelists did not seem to know the institutional contexts of their centers or understand the requirements for a major center. Similarly, several panelists said that they had trouble evaluating proposals on those criteria that required knowledge of the center's institution or that required them to know what level of faculty competence, library holdings, etc., were "ade-

[41] We interviewed one panelist who had served on both the 1976 and 1979 panels. He observed a major difference in panel composition between the two years, some major names in the field serving on the panel in 1976 and none in 1979.

quate" for the applicant's proposed program. Finally, center directors felt that the 1979 panelists had discharged their responsibilities conscientiously. Similarly, interviews with 1979 panelists revealed that they had worked very hard and taken their obligations seriously. In sum, center directors lacked faith in the competence of the 1979 panelists; several of the panelists themselves felt that they had been unable to discharge their responsibilities as well as they wished.

Clearly, the Title VI panels of the 1960s are no more acceptable today than the 1979 panels. Bias in these early panels is undocumented, but their composition certainly gave the appearance of bias. At the same time, in its attempt to eliminate bias, OE has undermined the credibility of the review process. It may also have bought only an illusion of objectivity by trading one source of potential bias for other sources. If reviewers from major schools are biased toward the status quo, ones from grass-roots or small institutions are apt to be hostile to the major schools. OE's attempt to eliminate a major school bias by selecting panelists from more minor schools may also have inadvertently increased the major school bias. As one center director pointed out, evidence indicates that alumni of a school tend to identify even more strongly with that school than its faculty.[42] Even if panelists come from less known schools, they will still have been disproportionately trained at the major, Ph.D.-producing universities.

Although OE cannot eliminate bias, it can *balance* biases, and it can do so without jeopardizing the reviewer competence that seems so key to the credibility of the review process itself. Title VI institutions need to be represented, if only to ensure that some panelists understand the institutional requirements for successful Title VI programs. Non-Title VI institutions should also be represented. In these cases OE should use the world area professional associations to identify high quality individuals.[43] Each panel should be balanced between Title VI and non-Title VI schools to ensure that no panel has only reviewers from Title VI institutions.

Although panels should increasingly reflect minorities and women, academic faculties, including the area faculties, remain dominated by white males. About two-thirds of the panels consisted of status categories that constitute small proportions of area faculties and still smaller

[42]This director described a study that his department had done to understand the variation in its national ranking. Over the years the department had varied from first to seventh, without any apparent relationship to variations in the quality of the department or in the quality of departments elsewhere. When they looked at the schools at which raters had obtained their Ph.D. training, they found that in any given year the department's rank was strongly and positively correlated with the number of raters who had been trained there.

[43]In selecting the 1979 panel, OE apparently only relied systematically on professional association recommendations for the East Asian panel.

proportions of experienced faculty at major institutions. To burden the panels with this level of affirmative action has to reduce the quality of reviewers. The affirmative action goal for Title VI panels should be more in line with the proportion of women and minorities now holding foreign language and area Ph.D.s.

Evaluation Criteria. Panel reviewers are asked to judge FLAS and center applications on 18 common criteria; FLAS applications, on an additional set of four unique criteria; and center applications, on an additional set of 8 unique criteria. The criteria are equally weighted, each counting five points. The criteria are public and known to FLAS and center applicants.

Center directors primarily criticized the criteria for their vague and overlapping quality and for the equal weighting scheme. In general, center respondents feel that there should be fewer criteria and that they should be specified as primary or secondary. As one director said, "All things are not equal in this world." For example, several respondents felt that an evaluation scheme should not count the same as quality of library holdings.

The 1979 panelists that we interviewed had more pointed criticisms, some procedural and some substantive:

1. Although some panels instituted their own "inter-coder reliability" checks at the beginning of the reviews, the OE staff did not establish this as an automatic part of the review process. Thus, several panelists reported that reviewers in a given world area were interpreting the same criteria quite differently.

2. Several panelists said that proposals were usually not organized according to OE's criteria. Thus, they had to go back and forth through each proposal to locate all information relevant to a particular criterion.

3. Some panelists noted that the criteria do not reflect the diminished job market for Ph.D. specialists. Therefore, centers and institutions are not assessed for their responses to these realities.

4. One panelist felt that the ability of centers to score well on some criteria depended on factors beyond their control (like an institution's geographic location). For example, one criterion asks if the applicant's program provides for cooperation with foreign scholars, institutions, and governments. The panelist noted that centers in the path of major travel routes between their world area and other points in the United States had a greater chance to work out such arrangements than institutions in more isolated areas.

5. Panelists found the criteria usually too general and vague to apply easily. For example, one criterion asks if the applicant's institution "proposes to provide the center with an adequate amount and percentage of financial support during the grant period." OE does not

identify concrete indicators that would allow panelists to draw systematic conclusions about such a broad criterion. Since proposals reflect only OE's explicit criteria, applications also do not include the specific information that panelists would need to assess these indicators or sub-criteria.

6. Panelists had to apply criteria for which proposals did not provide information. For example, one criterion asks if the applicant's proposed activity is needed in the institution or area served by the applicant. Although panelists might be able to assess need within the institution, they pointed out that they may not know whether the proposed program duplicates another program nearby. Assessing this requires that all area studies programs apply for Title VI funds, and all clearly do not.

7. Panelists felt that adequately applying some criteria required a site visit to the center, or personal knowledge of the center, its faculty, and university. For example, one criterion asks whether the faculty is qualified to carry out the center's current teaching program. Vitas give panelists some basis for answering this question. However, personal knowledge would let them assess quality much better. Another criterion asks if the applicant's [physical] facilities and other resources are adequate. In the absence of a site visit to the center, panelists need personal knowledge about the center to assess this criterion.

8. At least one panelist felt that they were asked to judge applicants on a criterion that is really OE's responsibility: Is the requested allocation of federal funds among program activities reasonable?

Reviewer Comments. The winning Title VI centers in our sample generally complained about the quality of the 1979 reviewer comments. Although one director observed that the 1979 panelists wrote more comments than the "Ivy League" reviewers in the 1960s, center respondents found these comments unhelpful. One director noted that if he had received constructive criticisms from the panel, he could have obtained university support for remedying the center's weaknesses. However, the panel comments yielded no useful programmatic advice.

For several of the 1979 panels, panelists reported that they barely had enough time to rank order the applications. Some had wanted to write more extensive comments and simply had no time within the assigned workload. They also observed that the absence of concrete indicators of what constituted strengths or weaknesses meant that they could not systematically identify specific problems.

Our data strongly suggest that OE needs to reestablish the credibility of the review process by balancing biases and increasing quality. A lower affirmative action goal seems indicated for these panels.

OE should think through panelist criticisms of the criteria, especially those seen as vague. Applicants should be better informed about the specific information panelists need in order to draw conclusions

about a general criterion (e.g., the adequacy of institutional support). Panelists need more concrete indicators to know how to assess applicants on various criteria, to increase the chances that all panelists apply the same criteria in the same way, and to give them a basis for useful feedback to applicants. Finally, OE needs to ensure that panels establish "inter-coder reliability" at the beginning of the review process. They also need to give reviewers enough time to write programmatic assessments that applicants can use.

This discussion of OE's administration of the centers program suggests that current problems result from two sources. The first is the program's inability or unwillingness to exert a leadership role in the international studies field. Although OE has articulated new program directions like professional school links, these initiatives have remained no more than slogans because they are insufficiently fine-tuned to accommodate the institutional context in which they are to implemented.

The second source of problems in administering the centers programs relates in part to the first. DIE staff have been severely constrained in how effectively they can manage Title VI because of a lack of staff resources and their low status within OE. There is no question that this has significantly limited DIE's ability to administer Title VI. However, as we suggest in Chapter 6, there are some marginal changes that can be made within the existing structure to improve program performance. Most center directors view the Title VI program officers as competent and committed professionals and on this basis there is every indication that a more productive relationship can be established between the centers and OE.

Chapter 3

THE FLAS FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

The second largest component of Title VI is the Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship (FLAS) program,[1] which provides tuition plus a $2925 yearly stipend to graduate students in language and area studies. During FY 1980, FLAS funded 765 fellowships at a total cost of slightly more than $4.5 million. FLAS fellowships are awarded to institutions rather than to individual students in a parallel competition with the center grants.[2] These institutions then nominate individual FLAS recipients with OE granting final approval.

Although the original purpose of the FLAS program was to encourage students to study the uncommonly taught languages and related world areas, over time OE has also attempted to influence not only the number of specialists, but also their distribution by world area and academic discipline. Using Richard Lambert's comprehensive 1969 survey of language and area specialists, OE established priority disciplines for each world area.[3] Area studies programs applying for FLAS fellowship quotas are considered more competitive if they offer courses in these priority disciplines.[4]

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[1]During the early days of Title VI, FLAS was referred to as the National Defense Language Fellowship (NDFL) program.

[2]The centers and FLAS competitions are presently combined and use a single set of panel reviewers. Institutions may apply for one or both of these grants with a single proposal. Currently, 69 of the 85 Title VI-funded centers receive FLAS fellowships. An additional 41 area studies programs receive FLAS fellowships, but are not funded as Title VI centers.

[3]Richard D. Lambert, *Language and Area Studies Review, The Annals,* 1973, op. cit. For example, see the discussion on pp. 326-331.

[4]The priority disciplines by world area are: *Africa:* economics, history, humanities (art, drama, music, philosophy, religion), sociology, and languages other than Swahili; *East Asia:* anthropology, economics, geography, sociology and humanities (art, drama, music, philosophy, religion); *Eastern Europe:* anthropology, geography, humanities (art, drama, music, philosophy, religion), sociology, and languages other than Russian; *Latin America:* humanities (art, drama, music, philosophy, religion), sociology, Portuguese, and Amer-Indian languages; *Middle East:* anthropology, economics, geography, humanities (art, drama, music, philosophy, religion), political science, sociology, and languages other than Hebrew; *South Asia:* anthropology, humanities (art, drama, music, philosophy, religion), linguistics, literature, sociology, and geography; *Southeast Asia:* economics, history, humanities (art, drama, music, philosophy, religion), linguistics, literature, and sociology; *Western Europe:* anthropology, economics, geography, philosophy and religion, political economy, sociology, and languages other than French, German, Italian, or Spanish.

In choosing individual FLAS recipients, institutions are then expected to use these same priority disciplines as one of the selection criteria. So, for example, in African studies a student studying a language other than Swahili and majoring in sociology should be more likely to receive a FLAS fellowship than a student of equal academic quality studying Swahili and majoring in political science. As the discussion in this chapter will indicate, the priority disciplines have not always functioned like this in actual practice. In theory, however, FLAS was designed as an incentive system to influence the number and distribution of specialists by academic discipline and world area.

Given this program framework, three questions need to be considered in evaluating FLAS:

1. Has the program stimulated the training of specialists in a manner consistent with the priority disciplines?
2. Has FLAS served to channel students into those world areas and academic disciplines with adequate demand levels?
3. Does the FLAS program deliver fellowship funds in an efficient and equitable manner?

The first question asks whether the priority disciplines are functioning as originally intended. In other words, does the incentive of a FLAS fellowship and the constraints imposed by the priority disciplines serve to channel students into the study of certain languages and disciplines and away from others?

Even if the FLAS program were accomplishing this objective, however, the second question still remains. Demand for language and area specialists has changed greatly over the last ten years. Therefore, program officials need to know whether FLAS fellowships contribute to an oversupply of specialists or whether the priority disciplines encourage students to move into those world areas and academic disciplines that still have adequate demand levels. These two questions constitute the standard by which a program like the FLAS fellowships needs to be measured. Such an assessment requires a survey of former FLAS recipients to determine whether their employment is appropriate to their training and what role FLAS played in recipients' training and career decisions. These effectiveness measures are the focus of phase II of this study and will be analyzed after the survey of doctoral graduates is completed.

The third and final question includes a set of intermediate issues that can be addressed using our fieldwork data. In our interviews with center directors and fellowship administrators we asked them to describe their selection processes for FLAS recipients, the characteristics of these students, and then to assess DIE administration of the FLAS fellowship program. From these data we can evaluate the FLAS pro-

gram on the intermediate objective of how well it is serving grant recipients.

For example, are current program operations responsive to the needs of recipient institutions and students? Are OE regulations appropriate, given the organizational dynamics of universities and area centers? The answers to such questions do not tell us about the ultimate impact of the FLAS program, but they do indicate whether or not it has been efficient and equitable in delivering fellowship funds. The fieldwork data also provide at least some anecdotal evidence about the effect of OE's priority disciplines and DIE's attempt to encourage the training of professional students in language and area studies. This chapter, then, describes how the FLAS selection process operates at the campuses we visited, the kinds of students who receive these fellowships, and the concerns center directors and fellowship administrators have about the FLAS program.

CAMPUS SELECTION PROCEDURES

Of the twenty-five centers we visited, twenty (at eighteen institutions) receive FLAS fellowships.[5] The Title VI program regulations specify the criteria to be used in selecting individual recipients, but do not detail how these criteria should be weighted or the selection process institutions should use. This flexibility has in most cases served to strengthen the area centers and provide them with some leverage over academic departments and university administrators. At fourteen of the eighteen institutions we visited, area center committees select FLAS recipients, with the university administration playing no substantive role. At the remaining institutions, fellowship decisions are centralized and although center faculty are consulted, the actual decision is controlled by the graduate division.

Since funds for student support are rapidly declining, FLAS fellowships provide centers with an opportunity to affect the composition of some academic departments.[6] By providing support to certain students and not others, centers can influence the graduate student composition

[5]These eighteen institutions receive a total of 192 FLAS fellowships, or 25 percent of the 765 awarded nationwide.

[6]The leverage center directors exert over academic departments depends in large measure on the department and university's ability to support graduate students from other sources. For example, at one center we visited, FLAS accounts for a third of all student support in that world area; at the other end of the continuum is a center where FLAS comprises less than 5 percent of available support. In the latter institution, FLAS is viewed as just another source of fellowship funding and is accorded no special visibility or importance. However, at the former institution FLAS is critical for those departments with large numbers of area specialists.

of academic departments. The OE requirement that lowest priority be given to applicants who do not engage in language study usually means that disciplinary students' level of commitment to language and area studies is greater than it would be without FLAS funding. This is particularly true in institutions where FLAS is the primary source of support for students interested in area studies.

The extent to which centers view the awarding of FLAS fellowships as a flexible process is exemplified in the diverse ways centers use the fellowships. For example, many centers only award FLAS fellowships to continuing students so as to be certain of their commitment to language and area studies. On the other hand, one center we visited awards FLAS fellowships solely to first year students in the hope that this strategy will help attract the best students. Two institutions we visited use FLAS fellowships as an incentive for greater university contributions to area studies. One matches FLAS fellowships on a one-for-one basis, and the other increases each FLAS stipend to $4000. Centers also differ on whether or not they award fellowships to terminal M.A. candidates and whether they favor students from the disciplines most amenable to area studies or from those least amenable.

OE regulations specify five general criteria to use in judging FLAS applicants: overall academic ability, whether a student is majoring in one of the priority disciplines, whether his/her course of study includes the priority disciplines, the inclusion of formal language study, and extent of prior language proficiency. As would be expected, all the centers we visited weigh student quality most heavily in selecting FLAS recipients, using various combinations of course grades, Graduate Record Examination (GRE) scores, and faculty recommendations. The faculty selection committees know most of the applicants, so decisions are made more informally than if a large number of unknown students were applying. At most centers a secondary criterion is commitment to language and area studies as evidenced by prior language training and coursework. At all the institutions we visited, FLAS fellowships are viewed as entirely merit-based; financial need does not enter into the faculty's decisions.

Only six centers acknowledged even considering OE's priority disciplines in making FLAS decisions. Only one of these reported that the priority disciplines affect the distribution of students across world areas: Soviet studies at this campus have been unable to attract the best students because of OE's requirement that students studying languages other than Russian be given priority. Good students interested in Russian and Soviet studies have switched to an East European or a non-Russian Soviet focus because of the availability of FLAS fellowships.

This particular case illustrates a disjuncture between OE's priority

disciplines and government demand for area specialists. Several of our federal level respondents working in the national security agencies questioned OE's emphasis on Eastern Europe at the expense of the Soviet Union. They noted that need for Soviet specialists is far greater than for East European ones. This example suggests that regular consultation between OE and government employers of area specialists could bring the priority disciplines closer to the realities of the current job market. The lack of coordination between producers and users of area expertise is further confirmed by a recent GAO report which stated that four foreign affairs agencies (the State and Defense Departments, CIA, and Board for International Broadcasting) foresee "increasing difficulties through the 1980s in recruiting the desired calibre of Soviet language and research talent." The report further recommends the development of "an inventory capable of displaying and updating information about existing resources" and the establishment of a public-private mechanism to assess need in broad national security terms and then recommend appropriate adjustments in the kind and extent of area studies research and training.[7]

The center directors we interviewed explained that OE's priority disciplines are largely ignored for two reasons. First, they are based on old data and do not reflect current demand conditions. Second, the priority disciplines do not take into consideration the strengths of individual centers. For example, the strongest disciplines at a particular Latin American center may be anthropology and political science, neither of which are priority disciplines for Latin America. Yet because these subjects constitute the center's (or university's) greatest strengths, the best students will be in these areas. Adhering to OE's priority disciplines would mean awarding FLAS fellowships to weaker students at the expense of stronger ones.

Some center directors also argue that even independent of a center's particular strengths, the priority disciplines and student quality often work in opposite directions. Because the humanities have traditionally been the most amenable to area studies, the best history and literature students are also often the best area specialists. On the other hand, some priority disciplines like economics have been antagonistic toward area studies. Consequently, the best students in these disciplines do not choose area specialties. For example, respondents reported that as economics has become more quantitative, student quality has improved, but the majority of these students have followed the norms of their discipline and avoided the less quantitative approaches common to area

[7] *Federally Financed Research and Communication on Soviet Affairs: Capabilities and Needs*, Report to the Congress of the United States by the Comptroller General, U.S. General Accounting Office, Washington, D.C., July 2, 1980, pp. i-ii..

specialists. In selecting FLAS recipients, then, an emphasis on student quality may result in more humanities students being chosen, while an emphasis on the priority disciplines could mean that students of lesser overall ability, but majoring in the hard social sciences, would be selected.

Procedurally, OE's priority disciplines have not presented a significant problem to area centers because the centers largely ignore them. But if the priority disciplines are to function as an effective policy lever, they will have to be updated regularly to reflect both the current job market and the strengths of individual centers. As we suggest later, the conflict between student quality and the emphasis on priority disciplines might be resolved by sponsoring a separate, protected competition for these disciplines. Encouraging students from high demand disciplines would be a necessary first step to making these disciplines more amenable to area studies and hence, more willing to encourage their best students to specialize in this way.

In sum, selection procedures are largely decentralized, and centers view the FLAS program as a way to achieve greater influence over academic departments. Institutions have used the flexibility FLAS affords them to adapt both selection procedures and the role FLAS plays in overall student support to their own particular needs and organizational style. Student quality is the overriding consideration in selecting FLAS recipients, and the priority disciplines have little effect on fellowship decisions.

CHARACTERISTICS OF FLAS RECIPIENTS

In our sample of 192 fellowships, 16 percent (30) were awarded to terminal M.A. candidates and the remaining 84 percent (162) to Ph.D. candidates. Despite OE's interest in funding professional students, most centers view FLAS fellowships as support for those who have made the commitment to extended academic training. The majority of students receive FLAS fellowships for more than one year, with most funded for two, although some receive funding for as long as three years.

The distribution of FLAS fellowships by discipline is analogous to the dominance of area centers by humanities faculty. The majority of fellowships (61 percent) at the centers we visited were awarded during the 1980-81 academic year to students majoring in language, literature, history, or linguistics. About a fifth of the fellowships (22 percent) were awarded to social science students, with anthropology and political science the dominant disciplines. The remainder of the fellowships

went to students in interdisciplinary area studies programs (10 percent) and the professional schools (7 percent) (see Figure 3.1). Only three of the eighteen FLAS centers in our sample award fellowships to professional students. One center does so because of special area studies strengths in law and library science. However, the other two centers award FLAS fellowships to these students because of a conscious strategy designed to establish links with professional schools. Consequently, they are making awards to students in public health, architecture and urban planning, journalism, and business. Both centers report that in the future they plan to award a greater number of FLAS fellowships to students in applied studies and the professional schools. In fact, one said that humanities and social science students are now only considered as alternates, and professional students in effect have first preference. This strategy for awarding FLAS fellowships is clearly a deviant case, however.

FLAS fellowships are largely awarded to humanities students for several reasons: (1) The humanities have been the traditional source of faculty strength in area studies and hence, tend to attract better qualified students. (2) These same faculty dominate center selection committees and often favor their own students. A number of economic and sociology professors argued that their students are not receiving a fair share of FLAS fellowships, though admitting that these students are not as strong in language training as those in the humanities. (3) The implicit requirement that FLAS recipients must engage in language study precludes many professional students because their highly structured curriculum permits few electives. (4) Current OE regulations also require that FLAS recipients plan to teach or enter public service. The 1980 reauthorization of Title VI removed this restriction, yet center respondents felt the change will have little effect on increasing the pool of potential applicants: language requirement will remain as a major barrier for professional school students.

Some professional students (e.g., those in business schools) have little incentive to specialize in a world area. They can find jobs without such skills, and taking language and area studies courses may mean that the scope and depth of their business training suffers. On the other hand, in other professional schools like public health, agriculture, and urban planning, an area studies specialization might make a student more competitive in the job market. OE also needs to consider that just as demand differs across professional schools, it may also vary across world areas. For example, from our fieldwork it appears that a professional or applied orientation makes more sense for Latin American specialists than for South Asia or Southeast Asia specialists because a large proportion of U.S. business overseas is conducted in Latin America and a strong tradition of research on economic development exists for that region. This is less true for South Asia and Southeast Asia.

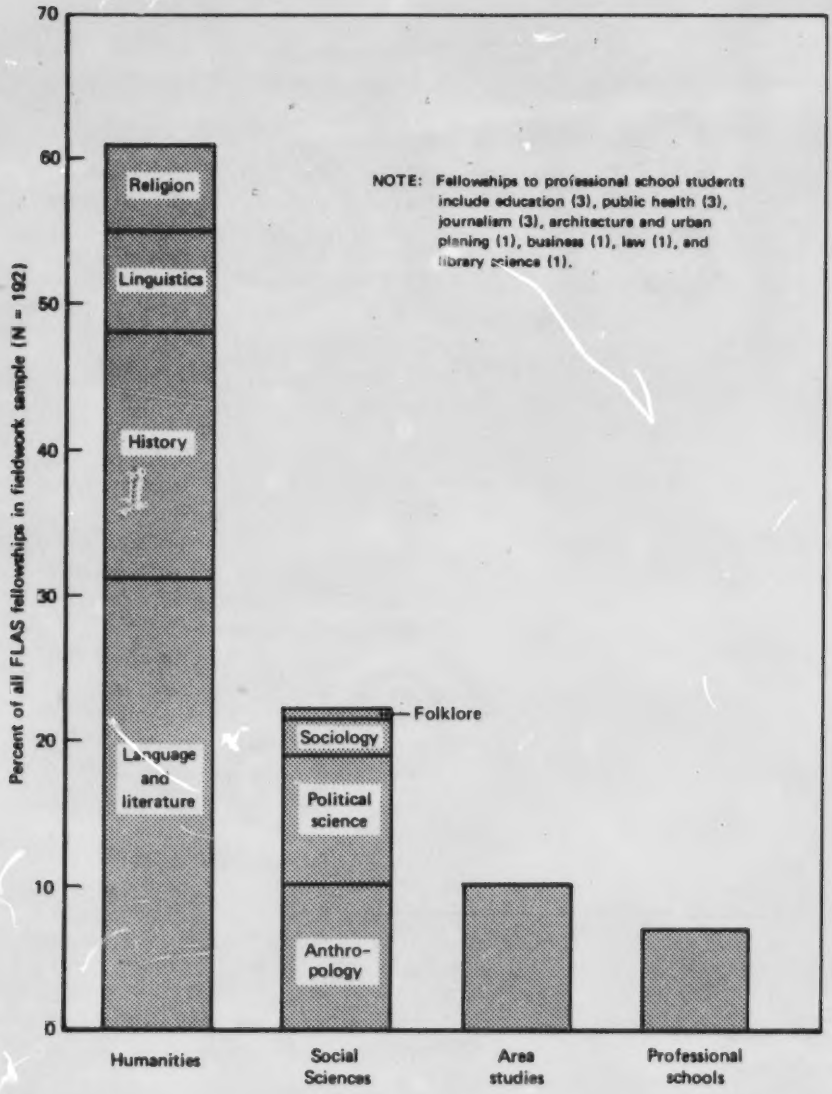

Fig. 3.1—Distribution of FLAS fellowships by discipline, 1979-80

While confirmation from more systematic survey data on language and area specialists is necessary, our fieldwork and other available data indicate that students currently receiving the bulk of FLAS fellowships are in those disciplines with the greatest employment problems. Although they are not disaggregated to show language and area specialists separately, the data from the National Research Council's Survey of Doctorate Recipients clearly indicate very significant unemployment and underemployment of recent humanities Ph.D.s (see Figure 3.2). The situation for history and foreign language graduates—the group that constitutes the bulk of FLAS recipients—is particularly serious, approximately double that for social science Ph.D.s.[8] Not only does the FLAS program need to make the priority disciplines more consistent with market realities, but universities need to weigh them more heavily in their own selection decisions.

OE's desire to encourage the funding of professional students has been unsuccessful, largely because the strategy is not finely tuned and because appropriate incentives are lacking. While such a policy could begin to correct the current maldistribution of area specialists across disciplines, it needs to be rethought. First, data are needed to determine the demand for professional graduates with area specialties. This level of demand needs to be disaggregated by profession and world area. Second, the current FLAS framework needs modification if it is to attract professional students. These students have less time during the academic year to take language courses so it may be necessary to award them twelve month grants with a significantly higher stipend so they can engage in summer language training or remain in school for an additional period after completing their professional training. If OE is serious about attracting professional students and those from high demand disciplines like economics, it might consider a separate, protected fellowship competition for these students. Students could either compete individually on a national basis, or universities that have demonstrated effective professional school or research institute links could compete for a quota of these special fellowships.

This discussion of student characteristics suggests that once more extensive data have been collected, the FLAS program may need modification. To the extent that it has contributed to increasing the number of area specialists, the program has functioned effectively. Now, because of shifting demand conditions, the program needs to concentrate more on how those specialists are distributed across world areas and disciplines.

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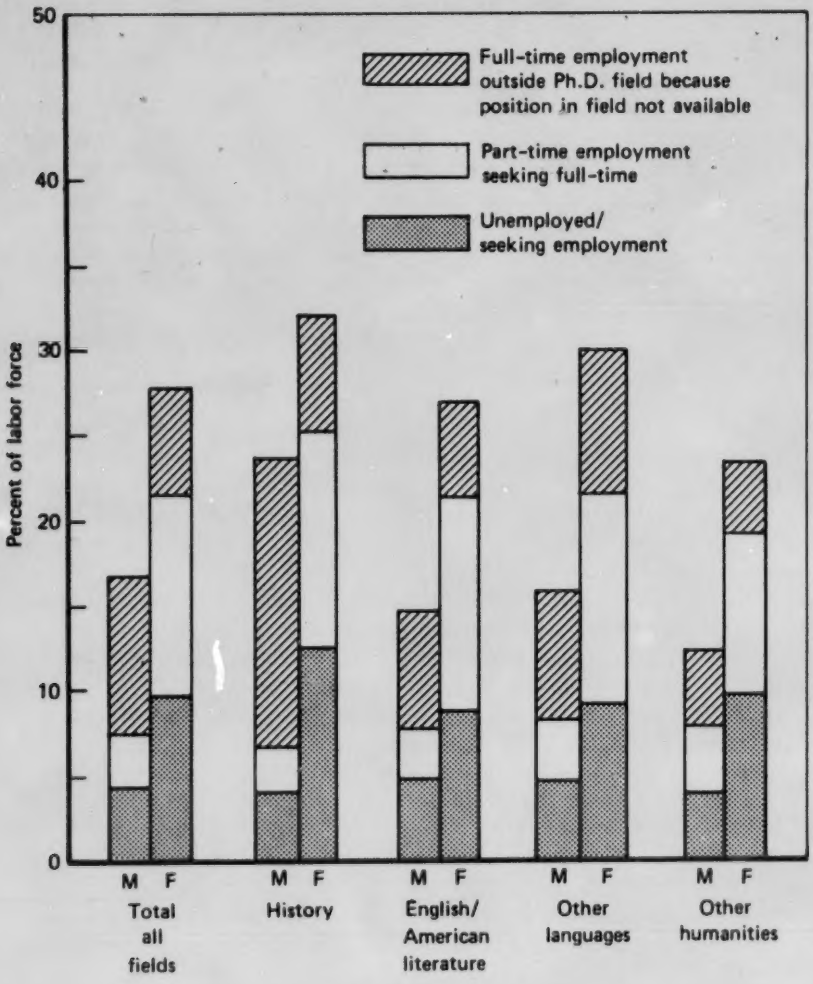
[8]Betty D. Maxfield, *Science, Engineering, and Humanities Doctorates in the United States*, 1977 Profile National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., 1978, errata p. x.



SOURCE: Betty D. Maxfield, *Employment of Humanities Ph.D.s: A Departure From Traditional Jobs*, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., 1980, p. 34.

Fig. 3.2—Unemployed and underemployed 1972-76 humanities Ph.D.s in U.S. labor force, by sex and field of doctorate, 1977

Clearly, employment patterns must remain a critical factor in assessing the FLAS program—if only because it is unfair to encourage student training in an area where there are no jobs. Some argue that because the humanities traditionally receive less funding than other disciplines, FLAS is important to students in this area. Center directors often argue that judging the effectiveness of FLAS solely or primarily by the job market is a narrow view that ignores the full value of liberal education. Such an argument is certainly valid at the undergraduate level, where education as pure intellectual enrichment is widely accepted. However, graduate training is viewed as preparation for subsequent employment. Additionally, as noted in Chapter 1, the original purpose of the centers and FLAS programs was to meet the needs of government, industry, and education; Congress clearly linked Title VI to expectations of future employment. Over the years FLAS has moved further from this original definition, but it appears that the program now needs to become even more sensitive to present market conditions and foreign policy concerns. In practice, FLAS fellowships have primarily served the needs of higher education, and neither federal program managers nor university centers have made any real effort to meet the needs of government and business.

In suggesting that FLAS become more market-oriented, the implication is not that awards no longer be made in the humanities, or even necessarily that the distribution across disciplines be radically altered. The recent report of the Commission on the Humanities recommends that colleges and universities restructure the humanities so as to integrate them better with career preparation programs.[9] If institutions can follow this and similar Commission recommendations, the distribution of FLAS fellowships could conceivably remain humanities-dominated, but still support training appropriate to available employment. In other words, present oversupply problems might be corrected either by redistributing FLAS fellowships away from the humanities, or depending on the adaptability of the humanities, by finding new ways to link these disciplines with existing employment opportunities.

CENTER ASSESSMENTS OF THE FLAS PROGRAM

In the view of center faculty, FLAS is basically a worthwhile program that has done much to increase the number of language and area specialists and to strengthen area studies programs nationwide. In fact,

[9]Commission on the Humanities, *The Humanities in American Life*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1980.

at a few of the more affluent centers we visited, directors noted that they continue to apply for Title VI funding primarily because of the FLAS fellowships. Although these centers can attract outside funds for library and faculty support, few sources are available for student funding. Consequently, they continue to apply for center funding mainly because they believe it keeps them in the competitive range for fellowship support.

Most of the centers' substantive concerns have already been discussed. They feel that new data need to be collected on the priority disciplines and that the list should be regularly updated through consultation with the centers and area studies associations. Some centers also question the distribution of fellowships across world areas. Our fieldwork indicates that this is another area that needs to be examined once new data are collected. For example, in 1979, 16.6 percent of all FLAS awards went to the Soviet-East European area, 16.6 percent to Middle Eastern Studies, and only 10.4 percent to Latin American centers. However, the Middle Eastern and East European centers in our sample were less successful in placing their graduates than were the Latin American centers.

Center faculty also feel that OE needs to be more creative in how it structures the FLAS program. For example, several economists suggested that a way to attract economists to area studies might be to offer postdoctoral fellowships after students have completed their traditional economics training. In this way, new Ph.D.s in economics would be penalized less for moving away from the norms of their discipline. Along similar lines, some center faculty recommended that the FLAS program now include postdoctoral fellowships for all disciplines because language and area skills are increasingly difficult to maintain as more and more specialists teach in smaller, isolated institutions. Postdoctoral fellowships would also provide a way to assist new Ph.D.s who cannot immediately find appropriate jobs.

Everyone feels that the FLAS stipend is too small, particularly for students attending urban universities. Several center directors noted that earning a minimum wage at MacDonald's may look good to some students faced with the prospect of living on $2925 for ten months. While this may be an exaggeration, it is true that more FLAS students now have to take parttime jobs, which of course slows their academic progress.[10]

University fellowship administrators complimented DIE staff at

[10]In the course of our Washington fieldwork, we discovered that the management of the Bureau of Postsecondary Education was unaware of the size of the FLAS stipend and upon hearing the amount noted that it is considerably below that of other graduate stipends awarded by OE. This may be yet another example of the isolation of DIE operations from Bureau management.

the procedural level, particularly the person who previously handled only the fellowship program. They consider her competent and feel she has always been as responsive as she could, given staff resources and program guidelines.

Some fellowship administrators complained about OE's combining the centers and FLAS competitions. They feel that since FLAS awards are now made to each center rather than to the university as a whole, their job of coordinating fellowships has become more difficult. They also dislike having the program officers for each world area handling fellowships as compared with the former system of one OE staff member responsible for all FLAS fellowships. Administrators at larger universities now have to deal with as many as three OE program officers. On the other hand, center directors like the new system and find the single application for centers and fellowships more efficient.

The centers' chief complaint concerns the timeliness of funds disbursement. FLAS funds often come too late to be used in recruiting new students, and continuing students must also face considerable uncertainty because of this situation. Other procedural complaints relate to OE rigidity in defining such things as fulltime student status and appropriate language study. Some fellowship administrators reported that OE program officers have questioned their institution's definition of fulltime student status, particularly in cases where individual departments are allowed to define it as they see fit. The program regulations are quite vague about the requirement for language study, stating only that it should be "appropriate training through formal study." OE program officers usually interpret this requirement as mandating a formal language class. But center faculty argue that a history or political science class where all the materials are in a foreign language or work on one's dissertation using foreign language materials should also be included. Basically faculty and administrators are arguing for more flexibility to allow for the decentralized and diverse nature of universities.

Our fieldwork data show us where substantive and procedural problems exist in the FLAS program. A longitudinal survey of former FLAS recipients is needed to confirm the finding that the current program framework is not addressing the present oversupply and maldistribution problems in area studies. Since the primary objective of this program component is to meet national need as defined by users of area studies expertise, FLAS awards need to serve more than just an enrichment function and should be linked to the current job market. If FLAS is to recruit students in professional and applied studies, OE will have to diversify the current program framework with strategies like protected fellowship competitions for these students. Given the structure of academic area studies today with its stable teaching force,

federal officials may also want to consider reserving some FLAS funds for postdoctoral fellowships. Except for the timeliness of funds disbursement, FLAS has been a well-run program; suggestions for addressing its few procedural problems are discussed in Chapter 6.

Chapter 4

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE INTERNATIONAL STUDIES PROGRAMS

In 1972, Department of Education staff decided to redirect NDEA Title VI so that it would become more than an area specialist-producing program. Among the initiatives undertaken were the two-year seed money projects[1] to internationalize graduate and undergraduate curricula.[2] Program staff argued that the International Education Act (IEA) mandated an expanded federal role in providing broad-based institutional support for international education. Advanced training in languages and area studies had to be balanced by enrichment and improvement of general curriculum at the undergraduate level, and more specialized programs and topics at the graduate and professional school levels. Some constituent groups in the international education community argued for the expanded program because they had traditionally been excluded from Title VI support. Other supporters of international education reasoned that by expanding Title VI to include recipients other than major research universities, the program would be less politically vulnerable in the future.

The object of the graduate and undergraduate international studies programs is to develop or rework curricula with an international dimension. In other words, both Title VI programs can introduce entirely new courses, or add a new dimension to an existing program of studies. In practice many applicants propose both to introduce new material and rework existing courses.

Due to a chronic lack of resources, the international studies program has been unable to determine the effectiveness of its seed money strategy. OE has no systematic data on the continuation rate of projects once federal funding ends. Because it lacks this information, OE staff have been unable to disseminate widely or on a systematic basis successful project ideas to other institutions interested in internationaliz-

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[1]Two or more institutions could form a project consortium and be eligible for three-year funding.

[2]Specific program objectives include: retraining or upgrading faculty skills to teach international studies or contemporary issues, improving curriculum materials, purchasing teaching materials, and increasing library acquisitions.

ing their curriculum. In assessing the international studies program, we focused on this critical issue of project continuation by examining a group of projects whose Title VI grant ended two to five years ago. We wanted to determine not only the actual continuation rate, but also those factors that are most likely to increase a project's chances for continuation. This chapter describes the international studies program, OE management of it, and then discusses our findings about project continuation. It concludes with recommendations for disseminating successful project ideas more broadly.

THE GRADUATE PROGRAM[3]

A major innovation of the 1972 program initiatives was to make professional schools as well as traditional graduate programs eligible for funding. Of the 63 awards made between 1972 and 1979, approximately one-half the recipients have been professional schools or career-oriented departments. The typical professional school approach to organizing a project is to include core staff from the school and a few faculty from the larger university. FY 1979 examples include:

- International Health Teaching Initiatives (Medical School)
- Comparative Studies of Health Systems (School of Public Health)
- International Nutrition Problems (Food Research Institute)
- Internationalization of Graduate Program (School of Business Administration)

Of those awards made to faculty in traditional graduate departments (i.e., political science, sociology, anthropology, etc.), some have sought to incorporate faculty and students from professional schools, while others have created links between the humanities and social sciences. Examples from this group in FY 1979 include:

- Language and International Trade
- Comparative Rural Development
- Global Policy Studies
- International Administration and Policymaking

Since the inception of this program, grants have averaged between $33,000 and $40,000 per year. From 1972 to 1979, 63 graduate projects were funded at a total of slightly more than 4.5 million dollars. In sum,

[3]As we began the project in fall 1979, the FY 1980 reauthorization eliminated the Title VI Graduate International Studies Programs except for second (i.e., final) year funding for about a half a dozen projects begun in 1979.

at the graduate level program focus can be narrow—contemporary and future issues and problems—or broader in the sense of adding international courses or programs to professional education.

THE UNDERGRADUATE INTERNATIONAL STUDIES PROGRAM

The undergraduate program aims to establish an international dimension or strengthen existing international components of an institution's general education (GE) program. The curriculum emphasis tends to focus on the first two years of college training because students are typically satisfying a broad range of college requirements. For example, an applicant proposing to develop or rework internationally focused courses that would explicitly satisfy GE requirements would be encouraged to apply for funding. From the program perspective there are almost a limitless number of possible courses that could be developed or reworked, but they must have the following elements in common: interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary and comparative or transnational. Because of the Title VI concern for foreign language instruction, an intercultural communication category was also established to encourage fresh approaches to learning languages and to link language development with cultural studies.

Traditionally the range of undergraduate awards exhibits a much wider variation than for the graduate program. For example, for FY 1979 the smallest grant was $24,000 and the largest to a single institution was slightly more than $41,000. Consortia projects did not exceed $50,000.

Some FY 1979 examples of undergraduate projects include:

- World Studies and Human Development (a consortium of one state university and four state colleges)
- Global Perspectives in General and Comparative Undergraduate Education
- Cultural Diversity and Personal Identity
- Competency-Based International Studies Modules (a 15 community college consortium)
- Foreign Languages and Cultural Training for the Undergraduate Management Program

Eligible institutions include universities, four-year colleges, and community colleges either individually or in combination. For FY 1979, eleven new undergraduate international studies programs were funded

($400,000)[4] at five universities (four public, one private), four public four-year colleges, and two public community colleges. Between 1972 and 1979, 125 undergraduate programs were funded at a total of slightly more than $7 million.

MANAGING THE GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAMS

Each of the programs has a parttime staff member responsible for all program activities. Some of the management activities are similar to other Title VI programs. For example, before an awards competition, program staff must propose a review plan that includes a list of potential panel reviewers and alternates who will come to Washington to review applications and make funding recommendations. When the plan and panel reviewers are approved by OE policy officials, the program staff prepare all application materials, officially designate panel reviewers, execute their contracts, and screen each application for technical eligibility prior to the panel review.

Most technical assistance from program staff to prospective applicants or grantees takes the form of responses to telephone requests for information. For example, in the three months before the undergraduate competition, staff receive approximately a half a dozen calls a day. The following advice is usually given:

- Come to Washington to read currently funded proposals.
- Write or telephone successful grantees in your home state or region and seek their assistance (names are supplied by OE).

Each month, program staff also send about twenty project abstracts from grantees' annual reports to potential applicants requesting information. Although program staff would like to see pre-proposals, there is simply no time for such review.

There is neither time, money, nor technical procedures available for monitoring projects or obtaining post-grant feedback. Although DIE staff report visiting 53 percent of all projects through 1978, these visits are invariably dictated by visits to area studies centers in the same city. In our fieldwork sample of twelve graduate and undergraduate programs, a total of five and one-half hours, sandwiched in between visits to area centers, was spent visiting three projects. Project directors at each of these institutions stated that the visits were perfunctory. One

[4]Fifteen programs begun in 1978 were refunded at $510,000.

director with a very successful and continuing program summed up the general feeling:

> [A program staff member no longer at OE] only talked with the faculty for about two hours, and the conversation had little substance. The faculty felt that OE didn't really care about their final report. It was as though OE expected people with project money to submit something, but the faculty had no sense that the Office of Education ever learned anything about the experiment at..... There was no feedback on the final report, and the faculty felt that they were only going through the motions.

Because there is little opportunity to monitor grantees or obtain end-of-grant evaluations, information on successful project practices and outcomes is not disseminated. Program staff barely have the time or budget to distribute abstracts of completed projects.

A few years ago some undergraduate international studies project directors and a DIE staff member organized workshops on project development and administration as a part of the annual meeting of the International Studies Association. Members of the program staff, sometimes paying their own way, have attended these workshops where directors present materials developed during their projects. All former grantees are invited to the ISA panels. However, as would be expected, those directors with successful projects predominate at the workshops because they are most likely to command institutional resources for travel to Los Angeles, New York, or Washington. From the perspective of the Title VI program staff, such meetings are valuable in identifying and learning about successful projects. Project workshops at the 1980 ISA meeting in Los Angeles were well attended by an enthusiastic group who are trying to establish an information network of past and current directors.

PROJECT CONTINUATION

Fieldwork Sample

Our fieldwork sample consists of 12 graduate and undergraduate projects whose Title VI funding ended two to five years ago. This sample represents 9 percent of the 131 projects funded during this period.[5] Because of project staff interests, mobility, and memory of detail, we

[5]Over 200 projects have been funded since 1972.

decided to include only projects begun after academic year 1972-73. We spent approximately one day at each site interviewing between one and seven project staff members and, where possible, some students. A structured interview guide was used for each respondent. All interview and site visit information was compiled on a 33 page site survey instrument.

The sample was purposive because we had to include several variables:

- Regional distribution
- Type of institution (public, private)
- College (2, 4 year), university
- Type of recipient: department, professional school
- Type of program: topical vs. international
- General education vs. specialized population (e.g., honors program)

Our sample of projects includes the following characteristics:

- National coverage
- Five graduate, seven undergraduate
- Three graduate professional schools
- Four large universities (all public)
- Four state colleges (all public)
- One small private liberal arts college
- One medium-sized private university
- One public community college
- One honors program
- Seven new program development projects
- Five adding to or modifying existing programs.

In the next section we discuss those factors that explain a project's continuation beyond its two-year seed money grant. The continuation rate for our sample of twelve projects can be arranged on a continuum as displayed in Figure 4.1.

One third of the sample continued as implemented. This meant that the institution judged the project so successful that it used its own funds to continue it. In one case we found most of the program continuing with some small changes. We considered this case marginally less successful because one or two components did not work. Nevertheless, the original program concept was still intact and now underwritten by the institution. Thus five cases, or 42 percent of our sample, continued successfully. Throughout the chapter, when we refer to successful cases, we mean those five continuing beyond the two-year Title VI project grant.

In two cases the program concept has disappeared but some of the original courses remain. These courses are taught every year or two and

2	3	2	1	4
No trace of project activities	Limited impact: a few project ideas incorporated into existing courses	Some original courses remain	Most of program continues	Project continued as implemented

Fig. 4.1—Post-grant continuation: Twelve sample projects

appear in institutional bulletins. In three cases we found neither the program nor its constituent courses. At these institutions faculty told us that they had incorporated a few project ideas into their *existing* courses. As far as we can judge, the ideas did not have a significant internationalizing effect. In two cases we discovered no trace of project activities whatsoever.

FACTORS AFFECTING PROJECT CONTINUATION

The Title VI international program sponsors what are, in effect, change agent projects designed to expose more postsecondary students to courses with some international content. Many public officials and educators are very concerned that only 3 percent of all undergraduates ever enroll in a course with some international focus.[6] In a recent article, Richard Lambert reconfirmed the limited exposure of undergraduates to international studies courses:

> In a recent check at my university [University of Pennsylvania] where there is a large complement of international studies courses and faculty, we examined the transcripts of a representative sample of A.B.'s and found that only about 10 percent of the graduating class had ever taken an internationally focused course.[7]

He concludes that:

[6]This information comes from an American Council on Education (ACE) project, "Education for Global Interdependence," October 1975, as cited in James E. Harf, "Undergraduate International Studies: The State of the Art and Prescriptions for the Future," in *President's Commission...Background Papers*, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

[7]Lambert, *New Directions...*, 1980, op. cit., p. 156.

> If we really want to make a dent upon the outlook of a substantial number of our students, we will have to reach more of them, and this means adding an international component to a large number of courses, including those that are currently entirely domestic in their subject matter.[8]

The federal government's attempt to effect educational change through a seed money strategy is not limited to the postsecondary level. Consequently, the ability of NDEA Title VI to influence an institution's perspective on international education has many of the same features that Rand researchers found in studying educational innovation at the elementary and secondary levels. A central proposition of the earlier study is that the process of planned change in education cannot be understood independent of its institutional setting:

> The very complexity of the innovative process teaches us an obvious, though often ignored, lesson: No simple or sure way can be found to effect educational change and have it persist. Nor is any single factor *the* answer to successful innovation, whether it be money, a new technique, or a change in personnel. Rather, the fate of an innovation depends on the complex interplay among characteristics of the innovative project itself and the institutional setting it seeks to change.[9]

Project characteristics and the institutional setting interact to influence the implementation process, which in turn affects project continuation. In order to understand project continuation, then, we need to examine the three phases of innovation: mobilization, implementation, and institutionalization. Our dependent variable is the extent to which the project is institutionalized or continued without the benefit of federal funds. This last phase of the innovative process indicates whether the project continues as implemented, continues in a modified form, or simply disappears.

Mobilization, the first phase of innovation, is the extent to which institutional support and resources are marshalled for the proposed project (i.e., project design and grant proposal) and the operational planning that occurs after the idea is adopted (e.g., post-grant award phase).[10] For example, administrative leadership, an institutional

[8]Ibid.

[9]Paul Berman and Milbrey Wallin McLaughlin, *Federal Programs Supporting Educational Change, Vol. VIII: Implementing and Sustaining Innovations*, The Rand Corporation, R-1589/8-HEW, May 1978, p. 22.

[10]Berman and McLaughlin argue that "the activities preceding and following the selection or adoption decision can be more significant than the decision itself." Ibid., p. 14.

characteristic, must be mobilized on behalf of the project in order to broaden institutional support beyond the project staff and their departments.

Implementation, the second phase of innovation, involves translating the operational plan into practice. Typically during implementation, adaptation occurs in project design or occasionally in the project's institutional setting, or both. For example, project staff may find that their original plans were too ambitious given their resources and available time, so they reduce or modify the initial project design. Or, project clientele may express interest in a service not originally included in the project, and the staff will decide to make substitutions based on new demand levels.

Given this implementation framework, we formulated a series of hypotheses that specify the relationship between project characteristics and institutional setting on the one hand and implementation outcomes on the other. Title VI projects are more likely to continue:

- In institutions with a history of and support for interdisciplinary efforts.
- In institutions where there were prior attempts and/or successes in internationalizing some part of the curriculum.
- In smaller institutions where such a project will have greater visibility.
- (For graduate programs) in a professional school rather than a graduate department or program.
- If the project's focus is central to broader institutional priorities or the core curriculum.
- If OE funding was designed to expand or improve existing faculty efforts in international studies.
- If substantial planning was undertaken prior to the grant application.
- If the project leader had the active involvement of the college, school, or university administration during the proposal design and grant planning phase.
- If the project leader had the support of his/her own department or program and other departments (i.e., broad-based faculty cooperation).
- If the project leader actively involved the college, school, or university administration in the project's implementation.
- If extra resources (aside from the OE grant) were available during project implementation.
- If project courses have high enrollments (indicative of student interest).
- If adaptation can overcome some implementation problems.

Institutions with a History of Support for Interdisciplinary Efforts

It is certainly plausible to suggest that an institution with some previous support for other interdisciplinary programs would be a good setting for a Title VI project. Interdisciplinary programs call for faculty cooperation across departments or even schools, some administrative support to minimize departmental barriers and encourage student interest. Indeed nine of the twelve projects we visited had implemented such programs. However, two of the five successful programs had no prior experience with interdisciplinary programs, and a third successful program encountered some faculty opposition because the structure of the school was almost entirely interdisciplinary and therefore "another program was not needed." However, in two cases where projects were unsuccessful the institutions have NDEA area studies centers. Perhaps some type of affiliation with one or more area centers might have been productive for the projects. But on the whole, previous experience with interdisciplinary courses or programs is not a significant factor in contributing to a successful Title VI project outcome.

Institutions Where There Were Prior Attempts or Successes in Internationalizing Some Part of the Curriculum

We assumed that prior efforts to internationalize one or more areas of the curriculum would contribute to the project's success. Nine of the institutions we visited had made such a prior effort, but only two successful Title VI projects were among them. In other words, previous attempts to internationalize an institution's curriculum did not significantly increase a Title VI project's chance for continuation.

(For Graduate Programs) a Professional School Rather Than a Graduate Department/Program

Most professional schools (especially those in business, management, and engineering) have been experiencing enormous enrollment gains. Internationalizing some of these programs would at least facilitate student exposure to material not generally a part of the curriculum. This has been a major objective of the Title VI Graduate International Studies Program with at least half the grants awarded to professional school programs. Of the five graduate programs we visited, a professional school was ranked in each of the success categories on our continuum and a third had some original project courses

continued. The two failures—no trace of project activities—were both traditional graduate school programs.

We think that a professional school environment, with its more narrowly and vocationally focused curriculum, is much more likely to contribute to project continuation (or some parts of it) than a graduate school project. We found that unlike the professional school projects, graduate projects in liberal arts departments were linked to faculty research activities, or in fact were treated as a research activity with a terminal point. These projects' funds were treated by faculty much like research support rather than as capacity-building that would later be institutionalized.

A professional school is likely to use a graduate project as a building block in a basic program rather than trying to focus on a changing issue or problem. It is very likely that a professional school needs to place a domestic issue into an international framework. The vocational methodology provides integrating cement for the graduate project material. Indeed, the most successful graduate project we studied was a part of one program in a professional school. In the professional school where the project did not continue, some of the original courses were adopted as regular offerings because a department found them compatible with its core program. Given our fieldwork findings, we think a case can be made for establishing a project grant category for professional schools.

Smaller Institutions Provide Greater Project Visibility

The colleges and universities we visited ranged in size from less than 1,000 to over 30,000 students. We found a modest relationship between size (smaller) of institutions and project visibility (higher) in the sample. That finding is confounded, if one considers a professional school as the grantee institution and not the university in which it is located. Furthermore, size and visibility were not systematically related to project continuation. The projects at the two smallest schools in our sample succeeded in incorporating only a few project ideas into preexisting courses. In the case of a small liberal arts college, the project had significant visibility but the choice of the project topic was too specialized to be sustained beyond the two year Title VI grant.

The Project's Focus Is Central to Broader Institutional Priorities or to Core Curriculum

In a majority of cases the project's focus was central to broader institutional priorities or to its core curriculum. In all the projects that

continued beyond the seed money period, this hypothesis was confirmed. At one college the decision was made to create an honors program with an international focus. The college administration, deans of schools, and a multidisciplinary group of faculty were designing a prestige program with East Asian and Latin American dimensions. A second college developed a new B.A./B.S. degree program in International Studies which included humanities, social sciences, and vocational/professional departments. In this case the administration and some faculty were so concerned about undergraduate international education that they began the bureaucratic process of institutionizing a new degree program with the Title VI project as the developmental core. In the case of a community college, several faculty members wanted to revise a rather traditional Western civilization course. Since the college could not afford to implement the proposed revision, the Title VI grant funded the development of this successful course.

Two of the least successful cases in our sample illustrate what can happen when projects are not central to the core curriculum. At the small liberal arts college mentioned above, faculty chose to concentrate on a specialized topic like problems of international energy. With less than a thousand students, demand for the project courses was so low that the college could not continue to offer them. Faculty were needed to teach mainstream general education courses. Clearly the project would have been more successful if it had focused on the general curriculum courses in which most students enroll.

The second project was designed to modernize a very traditional department. The chairman and two untenured faculty members hoped to add an intercultural dimension to a very classical humanities department. The majority of the faculty viewed such an approach with suspicion and considered it peripheral to the department's primary focus. Again, this project had little hope of institutionalization.

OE Funding Designed To Expand or Improve Existing Faculty Efforts in International Studies

All Title VI project applications are supposed to expand or improve existing faculty efforts in international studies. The central question for OE (and panel reviewers) is which of these efforts should be funded. During our fieldwork we noted four institutions where project funding, though plausible, was likely to fail. In one case the project supported new international faculty-student seminars in an existing soft money program. Since the program depended on external funding with no institutional commitment, the probability of long-term continuation was negligible. At one college which already had a successful interdisci-

plinary program, the project topic created further specialization rather than an internationally focused broadening of the curriculum. Faculty enthusiasm and student interest were negatively correlated. In a third case the faculty teaching load was so heavy that project-funded release time was inadequate to assist the faculty in program planning and implementation. One respondent told us that an internship component had to be dropped because it was too time-consuming to administer. Despite these examples of several years ago, it is clear from our interviews with program staff that much institutional learning has occurred since the inception of the program. Today OE staff and panel reviewers are more sensitive to factors like student demand and the practicality of a project given existing faculty time commitments. A project whose continuation depends heavily on a large resource level is also less apt to receive funding.

Substantial Planning Done Prior to the Grant Application

Although almost all institutions had undertaken some pre-proposal planning, our fieldwork indicates that the greater the level of faculty effort prior to the application, the more likely implementation will be successful and the project will continue beyond federal funding. In some cases the institution had the first step of the project underway and only required "take-off" funding. This was typical of the professional schools. At one undergraduate institution the grants officer told us very explicitly that the operational style of the school was to design and develop programs at least a year in advance of applying for federal or state experimental funding. Their goal was to use Title VI funds for immediate launching of the program and would never consider applying for funds to design a program. Thus as far as they were concerned, if they were not satisfied with the design and program "market conditions," they would not seek external support.

Pre-proposal planning must be linked with the mobilization of resources and faculty and administrative support for the potential project. In several cases faculty did an excellent job of project design but little to mobilize support or perhaps defuse potential problems.

OE program staff must try to measure the extent to which preplanning has taken place. One measure would be the amount of faculty release time provided to project faculty during the project design phase. Were any parts of it pretested? Was there any study of potential student demand for the program? For professional schools and programs is there a potential job market? Since evidence from this and other studies of educational innovation demonstrate a link between project design

and later institutional commitment to implementation and continuation, this factor is a critical one to assess during project funding reviews.

The Project Director Has the Active Involvement of the University Administration During the Proposal Design and Grant Planning Phases

The project director must mobilize support not only for pre-proposal design but also for post-award planning. A key element is the role played by a school or university administrator. In half of the projects we visited, administrative support was minimal, indifferent, or nonexistent. No project was ultimately continued, if it lacked initial administrative support.

Successful projects tended to command institutional resources for preplanning. In most cases deans provided release time, clerical support, and materials development funds for proposal writing and/or project design and pretesting. In one college a market survey was undertaken to check on the feasibility of employing graduates of the proposed program.

In the most successful projects, university administrators (usually deans) were actually included in the proposals as staff or unpaid monitors. In sum, administrative support in the proposal development and post-award grant planning phases proved a vital link to a successful project outcome.

The Project Director Actively Involved University Administrators in Project Implementation

The most successful projects not only mobilized administrative support for the pre-proposal stage but continued to seek support throughout the implementation of the project. At one institution the dean was a project instructor. In another case the dean of the school acted as a project monitor, insisting on an evaluation aimed at strengthening project implementation. In both cases these administrators carried positive messages about the projects to institutional vice-presidents.

In an effort to make the project core course available to the widest number of students, the division chairman at a community college altered the scheduling of courses such that there were no other courses of major consequence offered at the same time. In another case the president of a college was so committed to international studies that he was instrumental in urging a faculty member to apply for funding and worked with him when the college suffered severe financial problems.

Despite financial setbacks which necessitated laying off over 100 faculty, administrators institutionalized the program by obtaining a degree status accepted by the college, the university system, and the state education bureaucracy.

In one unsuccessful case, administrative support had not been consolidated from the proposal to the implementation phase. Thus as faculty opposition to the program became more visible, administrative support waned. In both successful and unsuccessful projects, identical problems arose requiring bureaucratic support. In the unsuccessful cases the failure to mobilize administrative support meant that some implementation problems requiring bureaucratic actions (e.g., course scheduling problems, classroom assignments, use of communications facilities, etc.) were not handled to the benefit of the project.

Project Director Had the Support of His/Her Own Department or Program and Other Departments

Interdisciplinary programs require at least the tacit consent of a faculty member's own department as well as cooperation from faculty in other disciplines. New programs are often perceived as threats to existing faculty turf. Therefore, just as it is important to mobilize administrative support, it appears to be almost equally important to gain approval or at least defuse potential problems among one's colleagues. We found that those project directors that were good at mobilizing the administration were also likely to gain faculty cooperation. Faculty resistance was a factor in only one successful project. In that case some members were very unhappy with interdisciplinary courses and programs. An entire department in this small school boycotted faculty seminars that were a part of the project. Indeed one student from that department was reprimanded for taking the program's core course and recommending it to other students. At this same institution faculty resistance was also generated by the newly recruited course instructor's compensation and status: he had a much higher salary and a secretary supported by OE funds. However, in this case administrative support offset faculty resistance.

In two other cases faculty resistance and minimal administrative support contributed to implementation failures. In both cases interdisciplinary innovations were resisted by the project director's own department and by other departments. In each case traditional disciplinary viewpoints were unbending in the face of an interdisciplinary program. At one of the schools the project director, a recent arrival, simply admitted that he had not properly gauged resistance to the innovative project and that he had moved much too fast.

OE needs to understand the departmental or faculty context of a proposed Title VI project. For example, is the Title VI project so innovative that it will meet substantial resistance from non-project faculty? At a minimum, assurances should be given that faculty support for the project is substantial enough to withstand some dissent.

Extra Resources Available (Aside from OE Grant) During Project Implementation

Over half the institutions in our sample did not make additional resources available to Title VI project directors. In two cases the institution's financial situation was so difficult that stringent cuts were made. In most cases, however, the school did not want to invest additional resources in an experimental project.

In all successful cases extra resources were made available by administrators to meet unanticipated or expanding needs. In two cases other grants and contracts were used to complement Title VI project funds. In one of those cases a university official said that the other international studies contract was vital because the university could not provide additional funds. Additional funds were normally provided for extra release time, supplies and materials, workshops, conferences, and speakers.

Project Courses Have High Enrollments

In many institutions student enrollments play a vital role in determining whether courses succeed or fail. Experimental programs with low enrollments are extremely vulnerable. At two colleges there was enthusiastic administrative and faculty support for the project, but student interest and course enrollments were very low. At one, a humanities-social science program ran up against the vocational interests of students who would not spend a large block of time away from their career interests. At the other school (as mentioned previously), the course material was so specialized that only a handful of students had the sustained interest to pursue the full program.

It must be noted, however, that low student enrollments throughout or sometime during the initial two-year period did not mean automatic post-grant cancellation. In two of the successful cases the commitment to international studies was strong enough to overcome poor enrollments. As a matter of fact, in each of these cases we were told that enrollments are currently growing. In one professional school course an enrollment between 25 and 30 students is considered excel-

lent. Similarly, in the undergraduate honors program only 60 freshmen are selected each year, although there is some pressure to expand the program because of its unqualified success.

At one professional school where the program did not survive, student enrollments were one key factor in the continuation and departmental adoption of half the project courses. The project director told us it seemed ironic that students supported the interdisciplinary course more so than his colleagues or the administration.

Adaptation Can Overcome Some Implementation Problems

Invariably in their grant proposals, projects promise too big an agenda in too short a time period. In some cases panel reviewers perceived this as a problem on the OE Technical Review Form; in others it was not mentioned at all. Program staff are sensitive to this problem, but aside from suggestions during grant negotiations and some very limited technical assistance, it is impossible for a half-time staff member to be involved in the post-grant planning or implementation phases. Some of the project directors we interviewed noted that if additional resources were available, they would like to see the following types of technical assistance to facilitate adaptation during project implementation:

- Extended comments from panel reviewers about planning and managing each project component.
- A critical review of project schedules by program staff.
- Contract negotiations which link substance, implementation, and cost issues.
- A pre-implementation workshop with program staff and some other project directors.
- A mid-program workshop to obtain technical assistance focusing on adaptation issues.

Aside from management, scheduling, and resource issues, one of the most difficult problems encountered by project directors was linking the substantive project focus to language offerings. In a few cases at both the graduate and undergraduate levels, it proved to be so difficult that the language component simply withered away or was dropped. Clearly there was a need for technical assistance, perhaps as early as the panel review stage, but certainly during project implementation, in order to make some changes in the relationship between substantive content and language offerings.

Adaptation is also a process that facilitates the transition from the

experimental two-year period to project continuation. Successful projects displayed three characteristics:

- They explicitly planned to eliminate some project activities that were only included to facilitate project development.
- They eliminated activities based on implementation outcomes.
- They streamlined the project through adaptation because of changing institutional circumstances.

An example of the first characteristic is the college that proposed faculty seminars in the first year only to combine program planning and enrichment. The implementation strategy was to provide something more than project meetings that would likely be poorly attended. An example of the second characteristic is the institution that modified its language component to suit the scheduling needs of students. In the third case, as a response to enrollment decline, project staff in the second year modified the program such that the core program was preserved but supplementary courses were reduced depending on enrollments.

In sum, we found that six of the thirteen hypothesized factors are primary indicators of project continuation:

- If the project's focus is central to broader institutional priorities or its core curriculum.
- If substantial planning was undertaken prior to the grant application.
- If the project included active administrative involvement during the proposal design and grant planning phases.
- If the project actively involved the administration in the project's implementation.[11]
- If extra resources (beyond OE's) were available during project implementation.
- (For graduate programs)—If the program was in a professional school rather than a graduate department/program.

These factors are now included in the Title VI program regulations as criteria for judging applicant institutions.[12] The other seven factors tended to make some contribution toward implementation and continuation of a project, but they tended to do so on a less systematic basis.

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[11]The program regulations published in December 1980 now include the second, third, and fourth criteria as ones on which project applicants are judged.

[12]"International Education Programs; Final Regulations and Request for Comments," Sec. 658.32, *Federal Register*, Vol. 45, No. 252, December 31, 1980, p. 86880.

Tracking Project Implementation, Evaluating Project Outcomes, and Disseminating Information About Successful Projects

As we stated in the previous section, it is currently impossible for a half-time staff member to administer the grants competition, provide technical assistance, track project implementation, and disseminate comprehensive information about successful projects. Unless OE is prepared to increase program staff, other mechanisms must be developed to perform these tasks.

Tracking Project Implementation. Program staff currently attempt to use former project directors as contacts for faculty seeking information about developing grant proposals. OE should establish a formal relationship with former project directors to provide technical assistance and track project implementation. We believe that some former project directors could be designated as members of regional technical assistance panels. Funding would be provided by both OE and the requesting institutions. Once a grant has been awarded OE could assign a former project director to track implementation of the project. The ED program staff would design implementation tracking and site visit procedures to be used by the regional panel member.

Evaluating Project Outcomes. Program staff need information on why some projects succeed and others fail. They also need to know the likely position of a proposed project on the continuum presented earlier in this chapter. The first step in obtaining such information is to develop a set of evaluation procedures. This should not be the kind of rigid evaluation model that some federal programs have adopted and which, subsequently, is found of little use to practitioners. Rather, this would assess projects in terms of their own goals as stated in their funding proposal and on the degree of project continuation. A set of process measures (e.g., range of project participants, extent of planning, etc.) could be identified for use as intermediate evaluation criteria.

Once these procedures are in place, Title VI program staff have three evaluation options. The first is to use the Research Program to implement the evaluations. These contracts could be monitored by staff from both programs. A second option is to have *either* the Research Program or International Studies Program staffs continue to rely on the former project directors as evaluators and have them visit projects two years after federal funding ends. In the third case, a former project director not previously involved with the project could be designated the evaluator.

Funding may not permit evaluations of all projects. Therefore, consideration should be given to sampling projects and undertaking periodic evaluations (e.g., every two years). Some regular evaluation program is necessary if dissemination is to be a viable activity.

Disseminating Project Information. The object of dissemination is to make project information available to the widest possible audience. Innovations should not be confined only to the campus receiving a Title VI grant.

A first step is to identify the most useful products for each potential audience. Relevant interest groups, information systems, clearinghouses, and diffusion networks, should then be contacted to see what services they can provide. At the very least the following organizations should be consulted about information needs and dissemination procedures for their constituents: American Council on Education, the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, and the Community College Association.

We believe multiple dissemination agencies are the best paths to reach the variety of international education constituencies. The ERIC and Center for Applied Linguistics dissemination systems should also be examined for their potential use.

Another organization is the National Diffusion Network (NDN) in the Department of Education. Although its work in higher education is in an embryonic stage, it could be a useful device for dissemination. Its mandate is to let all potential users know about the availability of projects and work with those institutions who are serious about adopting a project. NDN staff facilitate interactions between project developers and potential adopters. NDN also recommends that technical assistance be provided up to a year after project adoption. The NDN process points to a critical issue: dissemination does not mean packaged projects that can be "plopped down" irrespective of local context and needs. Potential users of Title VI project ideas must be able to adapt them to their own needs and institutional context. Although NDN is currently underutilized by the higher education community, we think it should be considered seriously as a dissemination ally by the Research and International Studies Programs.

In examining the international studies program we tried to identify those factors that are most likely to facilitate project continuation. We found that for our sample of twelve projects, 42 percent continued once federal funding ended. Compared with the dismal record of other programs that employ a similar seed money strategy, this continuation rate is not only encouraging, but also demonstrates both the need for such an international studies program and its inherent soundness. What is also remarkable is that this program has achieved such a record with minimal federal monitoring and technical assistance resources. Despite the efforts of program staff, there has never been sufficient resources to monitor project outcomes or to disseminate successful project ideas.

To maximize the program's effectiveness, we recommend that more resources be devoted to monitoring projects and that a systematic mechanism be established to disseminate project information. Until this is done, the international studies program will continue to affect only the limited number of institutions receiving project funding.

Chapter 5

THE RESEARCH PROGRAM

The original Title VI legislation included the Section 602 component designed to support research on foreign language and area studies. In essence, Section 602 was to function as a support arm for the other three Title VI programs.[1] If centers were to be funded, fellowships offered, and language institutes created for teacher training, then it was necessary to establish a research capability to assess the need for foreign language training and then develop appropriate curriculum materials. Over time the Section 602 program has essentially operated independently of the other Title VI program components with its own objectives and funding priorities. But like these other programs, Section 602 research and curriculum products are aimed at furthering the dual program objectives of specialist training and general diffusion of international knowledge.

Public and private organizations, educational institutions, and individuals are eligible to apply for grants or contracts. During FY 1979, the research program funded eighteen new and three supplements to ongoing grants, and two contracts at a cost of $969,270. The largest award ($220,000) was a sole source contract to the Educational Testing Service (ETS)[2] for a Survey of the Global Awareness of College Freshmen and Seniors. Nine universities, eight organizations, and one individual were project recipients for FY 1979.

In an evaluation of the research program, one fact must be highlighted: a very significant proportion of *critically needed* language materials for American students was developed from the over 800 contracts and grants awarded since 1958.[3] Despite this, our fieldwork indicates that Section 602 remains a low visibility program even within the international studies community.

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[1]In the 1980 reauthorizing legislation, the research program is included in Section 605.

[2]This award was made by the Commissioner of Education to ETS through the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). NEH administers the project.

[3]For a comprehensive inventory of research completed through May 31, 1980, see *Foreign Language, Area, and Other International Studies: A Bibliography of Research and Instructional Materials*, List No. 9, U.S. Department of Education, 1980. List No. 9 includes 892 research products produced from Title VI grants and contracts. The number of grants awarded will differ from finished products because some grants have subcontracts or several phases, each of which may have a completed product.

Given the original objectives and current operations, six questions need to be addressed in our evaluation of the Section 602 program:

- How does the research program establish language and area studies priorities?
- Within the fiscal constraints of Title VI funding, does the award of research contracts and grants follow these priorities?
- Is there an equitable distribution of projects among research categories and world areas?
- How effectively is the program administered?
- Is the dissemination of research results adequate?
- If the research program is considered an ancillary arm of the other program components, can it play a role in disseminating materials produced with Title VI funds (e.g., outreach and citizen education materials)?

To help answer these questions we interviewed program staff, other federal agency officials, interest group representatives, principal investigators of five of the twenty-one current research program contracts and grants, center directors whose faculty were program recipients, and selected faculty previously funded by the program.

PROGRAM RECIPIENTS

Since the beginning of the Research Program, language and area specialists from universities and public and private organizations[4] have played major roles in assessing need and setting priorities for materials development. These same groups have also been the primary recipients of Section 602 funds. Table 5.1 shows the distribution of research project recipients since 1959. University faculty have received slightly more than 60 percent of the contracts and grants; public and private agencies, 20 percent. Colleges, U.S. government agencies, elementary and secondary education agencies, and private individuals constitute slightly less than 20 percent of the recipients.

The heavy concentration of funding for projects from universities draws some criticism from other sectors of the international education community. Representatives of public and private organizations claim that much of what is produced only benefits higher education. They specifically argue that materials for elementary and secondary education, citizen awareness, and business and industry do not obtain adequate funding. At the same time, very few elementary and secondary institutions, general citizen education groups, or organizations serving

[4]For example, American Council on Learned Society, Modern Language Association, Center for Applied Linguistics, Asia Society, Inc.

Table 5.1

Section 602 Project Recipients, 1959-79[a]

Year	Universities	Colleges	Public/ Private Organization	U.S. Government Agencies	Public Education[b]	Private Individuals[c]
1959	14	2	11[d]		2	6
60	61	6	10	1	3	7
61	22	2	7	5	3	9
62	24	1	7	4	—	6
63	19	3	7	2	1	1
64	30	6	7	1	2	1
65	48	4	8	2	—	3
66	40	6	7	3	—	—
67	41	4	4	5	3	—
68	13	1	5	—	—	—
69	20	2	9	—	—	—
70	28	—	6	—	—	—
71	16	1	10	2	—	—
72	20	1	11	1	1	—
73	6	—	6	—	—	1
74	12	—	6	4	—	—
75	12	1	7	—	1	—
76	13	—	11	—	—	6
77	11	2	10	—	—	1
78	12	1	7	—	—	—
79	9	—	9	1	—	1
Total	471	43	151	31	16	42
	62%	6%	20%	4%	2%	6%

[a]Yearly figures compiled from *Linguistics Reporter* and NDEA Title VI Program Announcements.

[b]State, local, district.

[c]Occasionally private individuals are awarded small grants and contracts to review particular materials or to organize a local or regional conference.

[d]Single contract given to the American Council of Learned Societies which then contracted for language development materials with staff at 41 universities, 2 colleges, 3 government agencies, 1 nonprofit organization, and 1 private individual.

the needs of business and industry have submitted funding proposals to the research program.

Table 5.1 shows that the heaviest concentration of contracts and grants to universities was in the 1959-67 period. During that time, however, there appeared to be virtually unanimous agreement that university and college programs lacked a broad range of materials for training students in almost every language. Consequently, it was not unreasonable that universities should play a dominant role in meeting these priority needs. Program staff also note that the type and quality of applications drive the awards process. Historically, few applications have come from those interested in developing or expanding elementary and secondary materials.

Since 1973, however, the number of universities and other types of organizations receiving Section 602 project grants have been evening out; universities are no longer overwhelmingly represented. During our interviews, program staff also predicted that other program constituents would likely gain even greater representation over time. More research will be conducted in the K-12 area now that Congress has strengthened its mandate to serve all educational levels by moving Section 603 to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The research program also awarded a grant to develop a Business Chinese Course in anticipation of the Business and International Education Programs component—Part B—in the new Title VI legislation. The program staff expect in the future to make additional awards to projects aimed at developing professional school programs in language and international studies. So there is some indication that the distribution of Section 602 funding is moving away from a predominant emphasis on university recipients to increased representation by other groups.

SETTING RESEARCH PROGRAM PRIORITIES

The program uses a three stage process to assess need and establish language and area studies priorities: one or more surveys or studies are funded to assess language and area needs; area or specialized conferences are held to review, criticize, and revise the assessment studies; a major conference is held at which papers are presented summarizing the state of area need, and then priorities are established for future materials development.

Two examples describe this process. During its first year of operation, the research program contracted with the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) to survey language and area needs and available facilities in government, business, and education. This report pro-

vided the initial bases for language priority decisions related to the immediate funding of Centers, FLAS awards, and instructional materials development.[5] Using the ACLS survey and other studies, a variety of conferences assessed specific area needs throughout 1959-60. Each conference provided OE with more detailed priorities. In March 1961 the National Conference on the Neglected Languages, sponsored by the Modern Language Association and OE, reviewed the findings of the regional conferences and formulated specific recommendations such as priority rankings for 163 uncommonly taught languages. The conference report, authored by Austin E. Fife and Marion L. Nielsen and published by MLA in 1961, made thirteen recommendations which set a research program charter into the 1970s.[6] Aside from the priority rankings of languages (recommendation no. 1), it included language learning tools, basic linguistic research, and pre-collegiate and collegiate programs.

A somewhat similar pattern to establish needs and priorities was followed in the 1972-74 period. In 1972 the Modern Language Association and the Center For Applied Linguistics were awarded contracts for a general review of American language needs as well as a review of the needs of specialists in linguistics and the uncommonly taught languages. Because the research program's budget was cut by more than 50 percent (for new projects—FY 1972 $862,015 vs. FY 1973 $370,754)[7] regional conferences or other types of reviews could not be funded. Even with a much reduced budget, the program invited individuals to write papers for a major conference, "Material Development Needs in the Uncommonly Taught Languages: Priorities for the Seventies," held in 1974.[8] Conference recommendations established priorities that are still in effect and explicitly referenced in OE's NDEA Title VI program regulations (e.g., Preparation of Specialized Instructional Materials).[9]

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[5]Julia A. Petrov traces the development of Section 602 in a paper presented at the *Conference on Material Development Needs in the Uncommonly Taught Languages: Priorities for the 70s*, published by the Center for Applied Linguistics, August 1975.

[6]Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, the Research Program sponsored a variety of conferences addressing the Fife-Nelson recommendations and suggesting new priorities.

[7]Budget figures abstracted from *The Linguistic Reporter*, August 1972 and October 1973.

[8]The preparation of the proceedings was supported by a research contract to the Center for Applied Linguistics.

[9]A mild criticism (in the report cited below)of the 1974 conference is that many fewer specialists contributed to the setting of language priorities than had previously been the case. The budget reduction, mentioned above, was a controlling factor for the number and type of activities that could be undertaken by the Research program prior to the 1974 conference. Leon I. Twarog, "A National Ten-Year Plan for Teaching and Training in the Less Commonly Taught Languages: Source Materials for the Task Force on the Less Commonly Taught Languages," in Richard I. Brod (ed.), *Language Study for the 1980s: Reports of the MLA-ACLS Language Task Forces*, Modern Language Association, New York, 1980, p. 42.

With few exceptions, our study respondents considered the research program's needs assessment and priority-setting process to be sound. Most understood that the funding level in any given cluster of years dictates the degree of specialist involvement in establishing program priorities.

PROGRAM RESPONSIVENESS TO LANGUAGE PRIORITIES

Program staff rely on language specialists as well as enrollment surveys and studies to set priorities. In their view, they have been responsive to the needs of the field by funding projects based on study and conference priorities. Our review of program awards and interviews with recipients, center directors, and faculty support this view—given significant budget fluctuations, the research program funds according to priorities within world areas.

We examined recommendations made by W. Freeman Twaddell (ACLS-1959), the Fife-Nielson Conference (1961), Bilingual Dictionaries Conference (1969), the Material Development Needs Conference (1974), and awards made during the period immediately following each conference. Controlling for the type of proposals received, proposal quality, and funding level, we found that the Section 602 program adhered to established priorities in the language projects it supported. However, funding level remains a significant variable. During the first three years of the research program, over $8 million was committed to the various research categories. During the last decade the annual budget has averaged slightly less than $1 million.

DISTRIBUTION OF PROJECTS AMONG RESEARCH CATEGORIES AND WORLD AREAS

During our fieldwork several respondents expressed concern about the distribution of projects among the program research categories: Surveys and Studies, Conferences, Methods of Instructions (Research and Experimentation), and Specialized Instructional Materials (e.g., Commonly Taught Languages, Neglected/Uncommon Languages, Area Studies).[10]

[10]For a discussion of each of these categories see: Richard T. Thompson, "Modern Foreign Language Teaching in the Uncommonly Taught Languages," in Dale L. Lange (ed.), *Britannica Review of Foreign Language Education*, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., Chicago, Vol. 3, 1970, pp. 293-297.

Table 5.2 displays the number of research projects funded in each of the Section 602 categories since 1959. The research program has funded approximately 800 contracts and grants through FY 1979. The drafters of the NDEA Title VI legislation clearly recognized that there was an immediate need to "assess the state of the art of foreign language, area, and other international studies in the United States. . . ." The studies, surveys, and conference categories are aimed at this goal and include a variety of topics: determining new language and area emphases, identifying needs and priorities for specialized materials, defining and analyzing national trends (through surveys of enrollments, degree requirements, or newly developed types of training programs), and supporting specialized conferences. As noted in Table 5.2, between 1959 and 1979, Section 602 funded almost 200 studies and surveys or slightly less than 25 percent of all new projects.

Current examples of studies and surveys include:

- Expanding Foreign Language Enrollments: A Study of Foreign Language Education as it Relates to Hispanic Minority High School Studies.
- A Dynamic Inventory of Soviet and East European Studies in the United States.
- Survey of Foreign Language Enrollments in Public Secondary Schools, Fall 1978.
- A Comprehensive Survey of Relevant Scholarship on China to Result in an Annotated Instructional Resource Manual Made Necessary by Normalization.

Almost 10 percent of research projects through FY 1979 (Table 5.2) are in the research on teaching methodology category (also called methods of instruction and research and experimentation). This category includes both foreign languages and international studies methodology. For foreign languages the program funds research on second-language acquisition processes, effective teaching approaches, small-scale experiments for applying and testing modern concepts of foreign language pedagogy, and exploring approaches to language training for professional school students. Within the international studies component, Section 602 funds the development of new methods (i.e., team or interdisciplinary teaching) or topical approaches (i.e., intercultural communication) for teaching about foreign areas.[11]

[11]Table 5.2 shows that there were few teaching methodology projects funded during the past five years. This, however, is an artifact of classifying projects where there is a very fine line between a study and teaching methodology. For example, in FY 79 a project on the Effects of Communicative Practice on Second Language Acquisition in the Classroom was listed as a study but could have also been considered research on teaching methodologies. The latter category receives the fewest applications.

Table 5.2

Distribution of Research Projects by Year and Type[a]

Year	Surveys and Studies			Conferences	Methods of Instruction/ Research and Experimentation	Specialized Instructional Material		
	Language	Area	Both			Commonly Taught Languages[b]	Neglected/ Uncommon Languages	Area Studies
1959	6	1	1	—	5	10	55	5
60	6	—	1	5	13	9	53	—
61	12	—	2	7	4	4[c]	17	2
62	10	—	1	2	5	5	18[c]	1
63	7	1	—	—	4	4	17	—
64	7	—	2	1	6	5	26[c]	—
65	14	—	—	—	10	—	39[c]	3
66[d]	8	1	2	1	9	3	25[c]	4
67	10	2	—	2	6	2	32	3
68	5	1	1	—	2	2	8	—
69	5	4	1	3	4	1	12	—
70	7	2	1	2	3	1	13	5
71	7	2	—	3	1	—	11c	5
72	7	2	3	—	1	—	19[c]	2
73	4	2	3	—	1	—	1	2
74	3	—	—	—	1	—	12[c]	6
75	2	5	—	1	—	—	12	1
76	1	5	5	4	—	—	15c	—
77	5	2	1	1	—	1	10	4
78	3	1	1	—	1	—	10	4
79	8	2	—	—	1	—	6	3
Total	137	33	25	32	77	48	411	50
	17%	4%	3%	4%	9.5%	6%	50.5%	6%

[a]Yearly figures compiled from *Linguistics Reporter* and NDEA Title VI Program Announcements. These figures are for new projects only.

[b]Defined as French, German, Italian, Russian, Spanish.

[c]Includes one joint language and area studies project.

[d]MLA and CAL received ERIC clearinghouse contracts for dissemination purposes.

The third major program category currently funds the preparation of specialized instructional materials in: languages not widely taught in the United States or ones of little or no interest to commercial publishers, and non-Western international studies. Table 5.2 specifies two language categories, commonly taught or neglected/uncommon languages, which were parts of the original regulations. Through FY 79 almost six percent of the research projects focused on materials development of commonly taught languages. It should be noted, however, that all but three projects were funded in the first ten years of the Title VI program. The current regulations consider French, German, Italian, and Spanish commonly taught and, therefore, requiring no support for general materials development. Russian, originally classified as commonly taught, remains critical in terms of materials development. For example, in 1977 a grant was awarded for Syllabi Development for Specialized Russian Training.

Slightly over one-half of the research projects have been funded for materials development in the neglected or uncommon languages. Considering just the Specialized Materials Category, the neglected languages have accounted for almost 90 percent of all projects. Some current examples of specialized language projects include, a Kanuri Reference Grammar, a Primer of Broadcast Chinese, an elementary Malayalam Course, and an intermediate level textbook of Modern Persian. Current area studies projects include Improving the Quality of African Audio/Visual Materials in K-12 and University Courses, and a Guide to the Study of the Soviet Nationalities: Non-Russian Peoples of the USSR.

A criticism we heard during our fieldwork is that there are too many surveys of language program enrollments. For example, some respondents argued that one survey a decade is more than adequate because there is no purpose in continuously monitoring decline. If an explicit language policy issue could be addressed and an outcome achieved, then, and only then, should additional surveys be undertaken. Others felt that surveys of declining enrollments might be used to drive the development or, more likely, curtail the development of materials in the uncommonly taught languages. Faculty in university/college language departments are experiencing pressure from administrators because students are moving away from language studies. The teachers of uncommon languages are offering a wide variety of courses to only a few students. Several faculty at public universities noted that state legislatures are interested in maintaining enrollments, not the national need to develop "exotic" language materials. These same faculty fear that if Section 602's emphasis on materials development in the uncommon languages were ever compared with data on enrollment in these same languages, there might be pressure

to curb any further development efforts in the uncommon languages. In other words, they are afraid that data on language enrollments could be used as ammunition by those who wish to tie Section 602 priorities to student demand rather than to national and institutional need.

Another criticism is directed at the balance between language and area studies projects.[12] This criticism points to the differing needs of various constituencies in the international education community. Those who focus on K-12 argue that a larger volume of area studies materials ought to be developed for elementary and secondary school students. They argue that language studies are ultimately more attractive if preceded by an appreciation of cultures, and point to how few materials are developed for K-12 area studies use. On the other hand, the language studies constituency argues that area studies must be preceded by a knowledge of languages. Some of this posturing is inevitable, given that so many diverse groups must compete for the same small amount of funding. As one of our respondents observed, it is "unfortunate that all the crabs are in the same bucket clawing at each other."

All of those who favor an increase in curriculum development materials for K-12 do so for an additional reason: there are not only few such materials, but even fewer good, accurate ones. For many world areas current elementary and secondary school texts present "oversimplified, naive, and distorted images" of their countries and cultures. For example, the Middle East Studies Association established a committee of area specialists to examine the image of the Middle East in secondary education.[13] They not only found incredibly outlandish and inaccurate descriptions and/or stereotypes of geography, history, culture, resources, and politics, but also that those who author such materials seldom have any Middle East area training. The specialists found further that few secondary teachers have studied the Middle East and rely almost entirely on texts whose data, if not inaccurate, are five to ten years old.[14] Given such findings, we think a case can be made for further K-12 area studies materials development.

In support of increasing the area studies share of research projects, some university and college faculty pointed out that interdisciplinary texts for all world areas have hardly reached a saturation point. It is their consensus that the research program should make a concerted

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[12]Table 5.2 shows that 10 percent of the projects funded through FY 1979 focused on area studies topics. This relatively slight emphasis on area studies can be partly explained by the National Advisory Council's (which existed until 1965) decision to stress the development of language over area studies materials.

[13]William J. Griswold, *The Image of the Middle East in Secondary School Textbooks*, Middle East Studies Association of North America, Inc., New York, 1975.

[14]Ibid., pp. 1-28.

effort to sponsor such texts. One author of a widely used interdisciplinary text, developed with research program funds, noted somewhat embarrassingly that the book is still selling even though it is out of date. He argued that not only new text development has to be sponsored but where texts already exist they have to be revised. Since many academic departments do not count text preparation or revision in promotion and salary reviews, it is difficult for faculty to devote scarce professional time to such efforts. At the same time, if Section 602 were to fund text revision it would add yet another function to the already growing list of competing program priorities.

Program staff feel that increasing the number of area studies projects would be a huge undertaking because priorities cannot be as readily identified as compared with language materials—probably an accurate perception. As we have stressed throughout this report, however, choices need to be made. Area studies materials could be limited to only non-Western interdisciplinary high school and college texts. Increasing the number of area studies projects could be achieved by funding fewer enrollment surveys.

Occasionally during our fieldwork we heard complaints about a world area not getting its fair share of research contracts and grants. Assessing this issue adequately would involve examining several factors, such as the number of proposals received, their quality, and priorities for materials within and between world areas. However, our fieldwork only allows us to make limited comments about the distribution of research awards across world areas. Table 5.3 summarizes this distribution. Latin America and Western Europe receive fewer language grants and contracts because program regulations do not permit funding their dominant languages. Furthermore, area studies materials are funded for non-Western European areas only. Perhaps Southeast Asia is underrepresented. In the period 1974-79 East Asia, South Asia, Russia/East Europe, and the Middle East have received between 16 and 22 projects, Africa 12, Southeast Asia 6, Latin America 1, and Western Europe none. If we control for linguistic need (i.e., availability of teaching materials, number of languages and dialects in a region), the distribution of projects across world areas seems to be fairly equitable and certainly does not reflect the kind of imbalance that exists in other program components like FLAS.

PROGRAM MANAGEMENT

The Section 602 program is administered by two staff members, one of whom works half time. They are responsible for providing technical

Table 5.3

Projects by World Area, 1959-79[a]

Year	East Asia	SE Asia	South Asia	Latin America	Russia/ E. Europe	Middle East	Africa	Western Europe
1959	16	1	2	6	21	9	2	6
60	14	9	10	1	6	11	11	11
61	2	2	4	5	4	—	2	4
62	4	—	5	2	3	3	5	3
63	7	1	2	4	6	3	4	4
64	5	3	9	3	—	2	4	7
65	5	7	10	7	4	5	5	5
66	10	5	7	2	7	1	8	6
67	6	8	3	8	4	6	10	5
68	—	2	—	2	5	4	—	—
69	3	3	3	2	2	2	5	2
70	4	3	6	2	5	2	3	1
71	5	2	2	—	6	3	2	—
72	2	3	4	1	6	2	3	2
73	2	—	—	—	3	1	—	—
74	4	1	4	1	3	4	1	—
75	3	1	3	—	2	4	2	—
76	4	1	2	—	5	3	3	—
77	5	—	3	—	8	2	1	—
78	2	2	2	—	2	4	3	—
79	3	1	2	—	2	3	2	—
Total	106	55	84	46	104	74	76	56

[a]This table draws from all three research program categories. When a survey, study, or research methodology project included a world area application, it was classified in the world area. When the project included multiple world areas, it was multiply counted.

assistance to any of the approximately 100 applicants who compete each year for funds. The staff also monitors and provides technical assistance to the one-quarter to one-third of applicants who eventually receive program funds.

Because of the diversity of applications, the program staff uses field readers to review applications. For FY 1979, 58 field readers were used. A panel of five or six people similar to the other program competitions is subsequently convened in Washington to make funding recommendations to program staff. For the FY 1979 competition, about four or five field readers read only one proposal because the topic was exceedingly specialized. For more popular topics (e.g., Chinese and Japanese languages) a half dozen readers reviewed nine or ten proposals. Most read between four and seven applications.

When field readers submit application ratings, program staff prepare a ranking for four program categories: surveys, studies, language materials, and area studies materials. Abstracts are presented for all applications, but Xerox copies of the field reader evaluations are made for only the top 40 to 50. The review panel, usually comprised of people with a broad overview of foreign language and area studies programs and needs. meets for three days and focuses on proposal quality and the research needs for each category.

The volume of paperwork related to the award process is considerable. An evaluation plan and master list of approximately 110 to 120 people (including their resumes) must be submitted to OE policy staff for approval prior to the application submission date. Each year one-third of the field readers from the previous year must be changed. Program staff must contact each potential field reader to see if he or she is available. Once the applications are in, it may be necessary to recruit new readers because of some very specialized topics. Each of the 58 field readers receives a contract that must be processed in the OE Grants and Contracts Office. A subset of the Master List contains the names program staff wish to use as review panel members. All paperwork and monitoring of the application process is undertaken by the one and one-half program staff members.

None of our fieldwork respondents expressed any criticism of the selection process. However, compared to those involved in the centers' competition, research program recipients were not that well informed about the process even though all information is readily available from DIE program staff. Each of the fieldwork respondents who submitted a Section 602 proposal had received some technical assistance during its preparation. In retrospect most of the successful applicants told us they would have benefited from much more technical assistance—if not during the proposal stage, then most certainly immediately after the award to assist them in planning schedules, using specific resources

(e.g., an exotic language typewriter), and working with unpaid consultants, reviewers, and material pretesters. On balance, they felt that the program staff had the management expertise to alert recipients to logistical problems and unreasonable overcommitments in work production and scheduling.

A major concern of those developing language materials is that willing but unpaid colleagues are a mixed blessing when critical reviews of materials are needed. As one person told us, "compensation stimulates productivity." In other words, informal consultants cause schedule delays. However, given the small size of most Section 602 grants these informal, unpaid consultants play a central role in designing and pretesting language materials.[15]

A major administrative problem, found also in the center and fellowship programs, is timely notification and negotiation of awards. For university faculty whose year is partitioned into semesters or quarters, planning to start a project in the summer is very difficult because announcements are made in late May or June and contract negotiations delayed. Research assistants cannot be hired and are lost, and out of pocket expenses of a few hundred dollars have to be paid to secure vital services that cannot be purchased later. For recipients in public and private agencies, where contracts are the organization's life-blood, negotiation delays directly affect staff salaries. All fieldwork respondents sympathized with the budget and paperwork problems of program staff, but all pleaded for a revised competition schedule which would culminate in awards announced and negotiated by early spring.

Although program staff find it easier to administer a grants rather than a contracts program, some recipients have criticized the discretionary nature of the Section 602 program. Critics argue that needs are assessed and priorities established by a variety of people in language and area studies. At the same time, one-quarter ($220,000) of the new contract funds for FY 1979 were awarded on a sole source basis to NEH/ETS for a global awareness survey of college students. Although such an award is perfectly legal and can be granted solely at the discretion of the OE Commissioner, it has raised eyebrows in some parts of the international education community.

DISSEMINATION OF RESEARCH RESULTS

Our fieldwork pointed to a universal concern: how to disseminate research program materials more broadly. During the 1960s with a

[15]In FY 1979 grants for developing language materials averaged about $45,000 with a high of $110,875 and a low of $13,820.

larger budget and more staff, the research program included dissemination activities. Staff would attend professional association meetings (area language, teaching, etc.) to distribute program information and research products. They would also disseminate copies from their office or pay contractors to produce a larger number of copies for professional distribution.

With a reduced staff and lower budget, dissemination is now largely in the hands of university presses for some language materials and ERIC and the Center for Applied Linguistics (CAL) for all other reports.

From faculty developing language materials we heard two criticisms. There is insufficient money to make Xerox copies for initial distribution beyond informal consultants who pretest the materials. They argue that language texts involve many iterations and therefore reproduction budgets need to be much larger. Others who have received reproduction assistance from centers or universities are concerned about not being able to find a publisher. Even though their materials are currently used at a small number of language departments, researchers cannot continue to reproduce such texts without outside assistance. They noted that the only way their colleagues can get the materials is to make Xerox copies themselves or to request microfiche copies from ERIC. No one was enthusiastic about the latter option. At a minimum ERIC should be able to reproduce from hard copy, which is not now the case.

Another concern of language specialists, verified by ERIC and CAL staff, is that ERIC is underutilized for foreign language and area studies materials. The CAL staff is small and simply does not have the means to advertise its holdings or target mailings to language and area studies audiences. Professional librarians, well acquainted with ERIC/CAL, told us that the information technology is excellent and that the receptivity for new dissemination methods exists. They further commented that for those teachers who know about ERIC, it is considered a research service. However, it could just as easily be thought of as a primary materials service.

TITLE VI DISSEMINATION

If the research program was originally conceived as an ancillary arm of other program components, then perhaps it ought to be considered the dissemination arm of Title VI as well. Numerous materials are produced with Title VI center and Citizen Education (Section 603) funds. Many reports, papers, bibliographies, and curriculum materials, receive even less circulation than the research program materials do.

Most centers do not have a publication series and those that do typically have very limited budgets. Our research indicates that center outreach officers, even if they have formed national networks and publish newsletters, need dissemination assistance. Consequently, in addition to reviewing the dissemination of its own materials, the research program should also consider funding a study aimed at identifying ways to achieve much greater dissemination of other Title VI materials.

SUMMARY

Although our data on the research program are more limited than for the other Title VI components, we were able to identify the major issues facing the program. Through the projects it funds, Section 602 represents a major source of new teaching materials for the uncommonly taught languages. At the same time, it remains a low visibility program even within the international studies community. One major reason for this seeming contradiction is that the program does not support the publication and dissemination of products developed with Section 602 funds. Although program funds are limited, ensuring that research results are used to the maximum extent possible would represent a cost effective use of program monies. (Chapter 6 recommends a series of steps to broaden program dissemination.)

The need for language materials remains great, but there is at least an equal need for area studies materials, particularly at the elementary and secondary levels. One way to expand this program objective would be to decrease the number of language surveys funded. Since the decline in language enrollments is now well documented, any shifts in degree can be established with less frequent data collection.

Finally, the research program would enjoy greater visibility if it were more closely coordinated with the centers and Section 603 programs. Such coordination could involve some joint projects, but at a minimum, should include consultation on both program management and substantive priorities.

Chapter 6

FUTURE PROGRAM DIRECTIONS

The preceding chapters assessed Title VI's component programs and recommended ways to make them more effective in meeting their goals. This chapter summarizes those recommendations and suggests how to evaluate Title VI program performance on an ongoing basis.

THE MACRO POLICY CHOICE: SPECIALIST TRAINING VS. GENERAL DIFFUSION OF INTERNATIONAL KNOWLEDGE

The legislative history of NDEA Title VI, described in Chapter 1, indicates that the original goals of the program were clearly articulated and narrow in scope: to "insure trained manpower of sufficient quality and quantity to meet the national defense needs of the United States." Over time, as a broader constituency made new demands on the program, the purpose of Title VI expanded. Now it also includes educational enrichment and diffusion of international knowledge throughout all levels of the educational system and even to some segments of the general public. However, given the program's modest funding, it is unrealistic to expect Title VI to pursue both of these aims effectively. At the same time, political logic suggests that to select one of them to the exclusion of the other is also unrealistic.

Although a choice may theoretically exist between these two objectives, our analysis of Congressional action and the interests of program constituents indicates that such a choice is not realistically possible. The recent reauthorization of Title VI demonstrates that it will not only remain both a specialist-producing and a general education program, but that in time its objectives will become even more diffuse. Although some may argue that continuing to "be all things to all people" makes Title VI a less effective program, political constraints will limit any changes to producing marginal efficiencies in its diverse components.

In other words, a choice between the program's two overriding goals is not possible at this time. Recent legislation has resolved the question of what the proper federal role should be in international education: despite significant fiscal constraints, Title VI funds are now clearly intended for *both* specialist training and general education. Therefore, our recommendations are not aimed at a major restructuring of the

program, but rather at creating a more effective set of policy levers within the current Title VI program framework and at selecting activities that maximize program efficiency despite limited resources.[1]

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Centers Program

Since their initial funding by Title VI, the area centers have played a critical role in increasing the nation's pool of language and area experts. In allocating funds for training, research, and general enrichment, the centers have managed to spend the small amounts of money available to them in a judicious and cost-efficient manner. In fact, if our evaluation of the centers had been conducted ten years ago, we could have recommended little to improve their performance because at that time the centers were fulfilling their functions very effectively. Unfortunately, times changed: a diminished academic labor market and fiscal stringency in higher education now means that centers must have a different approach to language and area studies. Our fieldwork, however, indicates that most centers are continuing to operate much as they did ten years ago, with few attempts at adaptive or innovative behavior.

As a result of changing external conditions and their essentially maintenance-oriented behavior, the centers now face two major problems. First, except for a few centers in our sample, there is at least some level of underemployment for recent center graduates. Second, the humanities now dominate many center programs and little effort is made to link them to the more policy-oriented disciplines. Consequently, a disjuncture exists between center focus and national need as defined by government, business, and academic employers.

Given these problems, ED needs to examine its current role in center activities and assess the policy levers that can influence center behavior. We found that many of ED's present policies, while well-intentioned, show little understanding of university organizational and incentive systems. Consequently, some policies—such as ED's attempt to move centers toward more links with professional schools—have not

[1]Given the appropriations history of Title VI and current Congressional budget priorities, we are also assuming that it will continue as a relatively small categorical program with no budgetary increase of the magnitude recommended in the President's Commission report. In essence, our recommendations are based on the assumption that Congressional intent with regard to both programmatic structure and funding level will remain relatively consistent over the next several years.

worked out because they lack the fine-tuning needed to apply them in a unique organizational context.

Our research suggests four substantive changes that ED may want to consider as ways of redirecting center behavior:

1. We found that at some institutions, centers are not necessarily the best mechanisms for meeting ED program goals. Therefore, universities might be given the option of applying for Title VI funds with whatever combination of campus entities and activities they think most appropriate. In other words, ED could be more flexible in how it defines potential grant recipients. For example, at some campuses, research institutes (like those focusing on food, population, arid lands, and energy) are better equipped than the area centers to perform a training function within one world area or across several world areas. In these cases, the humanities and applied social science departments might provide support courses for the institute. At other campuses, however, the centers may be the most visible and competitive source of interdisciplinary work. At still other campuses, a combination of departments (e.g., geography and languages) may represent the university's strongest efforts in a world area. Such an approach might stimulate greater internal competition among campus units and motivate some rather moribund centers to adapt better to the changed conditions they face.

2. As we have noted several times, the emphasis on professional education may be a losing proposition for some professions and world areas. Demand for professionals with language and area skills differs not only across professions, but also world areas. Additionally, in some instances, an emphasis on center linkages with topical programs and institutes makes much more sense than futile attempts to work with professional schools. Therefore, ED needs to refine this program requirement by using available data and consulting with relevant professional and area studies associations. They can help identify those area studies-professional school combinations that are in greatest demand and those professional schools that are most receptive to such linkages. Then ED can specify more precisely in its regulations and in the technical assistance it provides centers which linkages various world areas ought to pursue. Of course, like other aspects of the program, these recommendations will need to be updated through ongoing consultation with professional schools, area associations, and potential employers. Such as exercise will also alert ED to those world areas for which requiring center-professional school linkages makes little sense.

3. We found that the present distinction between comprehensive and undergraduate centers is a rather meaningless one. Consequently, our third recommendation is that either the undergraduate center category should be limited to those institutions involved solely in undergraduate education or it should be eliminated as a way to distinguish

among centers. We feel that the tiered system recommended in the President's Commission report and included in the current reauthorizing legislation creates more meaningful categories because centers can be grouped on the basis of their capacity and resource level.

4. Outreach activities should clearly draw upon an institution's particular strengths and community needs. Generally, we found that the most effective outreach serves other collegiate institutions with business outreach usually making sense only in larger metropolitan areas. Unless K-12 outreach focuses on teacher inservice or curriculum development, it tends to have a very limited effect and is basically a waste of resources. ED needs to use as flexible a definition of outreach as possible and should not require that centers focus on more than one area of outreach. Ongoing consultation between center faculty and governmental agencies should also be viewed as outreach by ED.

In addition to these substantive recommendations, we also suggest that ED make a number of administrative changes in the centers program:

- A greater attempt should be made to recruit major scholars from nonapplicant institutions to serve as panel reviewers. Such people do exist and the area studies associations can assist in locating them.
- Panel review criteria need to be clarified and a better differentiated weighting scheme adopted.
- Staff site visits should be more thorough, even though it might mean scheduling them less often. ED staff visits could be supplemented with more substantive visits by academic peers and relevant governmental users of center expertise.
- ED needs to make greater use of outside bodies like the area studies associations and representative government employers for information and program advice.

Finally, it is clear that ED is limited in what it can do to change a center's activity focus. Many of the changes we suggested in Chapter 2 as ones that centers can make depend on how faculty conceive the purpose of language and area training. We cannot stress enough the effect of faculty preferences on student definitions of what constitutes an appropriate job. Faculty need to broaden their notion of acceptable jobs. In doing so, they also need to expand their own contacts and placement networks. To facilitate this, ED ought to invite government and business employers to center directors' meetings to inform center faculty of their needs and to provide an opportunity for contact between the two groups.

The FLAS Program

Perhaps even more than for the centers program, Congressional intent in establishing FLAS was to ensure that sufficient expertise in international studies would be available for academic, governmental, and business use. This attempt to encourage such training was further emphasized when ED established priority disciplines for each world area. The assumption was that not only would FLAS encourage the training of specialists, but the selective award of these fellowships would influence the distribution of specialists by world area and academic discipline.

The data presented in Chapter 3 indicate that the FLAS program has not effectively regulated either the supply or distribution of specialists. Presently, FLAS fellowships are overwhelmingly awarded to students in the humanities—the area with the greatest underemployment of specialists. Additionally, evidence from the East European/Soviet area indicates that in some instances the FLAS priority disciplines are actually working against the manpower needs of governmental agencies. At the same time, ED's efforts to encourage professional students and those from high demand disciplines to specialize in language and area studies have been unsuccessful largely because proper incentives are lacking.

Based on these findings we would recommend a number of substantive changes in the program. First, a survey of former FLAS recipients is necessary to determine employment trends over time by world area and academic discipline and to evaluate the match between training and subsequent employment. These data can then be used to establish a set of priority disciplines more appropriate to current demand for specialists. While such a survey is costly and cannot be conducted very frequently, ED can update the priority disciplines through regular consultation with governmental employees, center faculty, and the area studies associations. The dynamic inventory of Soviet/East European specialists now being compiled under ED sponsorship is a mechanism for identifying the current supply of specialists. But the priority disciplines should also be linked to current demand levels. Therefore, ED needs to consult with potential employers about their specific needs and obtain a more reliable picture of actual employment patterns from center faculty and area studies association representatives.

In recommending a revision of the priority disciplines, we are not advocating that humanities students no longer be funded by FLAS. Obviously, to stop training completely in this area would be an unfortunate mistake. Rather, we are suggesting that a better balance needs to be achieved between the humanities and other disciplines relevant to language and area studies.

A second area of concern for FLAS is the program's inability to attract professional students and those from high demand disciplines. Although the situation is slightly different for each group of students, FLAS basically does not provide sufficient incentives for these students to specialize in language and area studies. For students in high demand disciplines with low amenability to area studies like economics, FLAS must overcome very strong disciplinary norms that encourage students to specialize in topics that allow for quantitative data analysis. Since such data are largely lacking for many parts of the world, the best students are unlikely to specialize in foreign area studies. Therefore, we recommend that if ED is serious about expanding FLAS' disciplinary base, it should sponsor a protected competition for these disciplines. For example, centers or campuses with special strength in a discipline like economics ought to be able to apply for a special group of FLAS fellowships. Or, students in these disciplines might compete separately on a national basis. No matter how the competition is structured, we would recommend that up to 10 percent of the total FLAS fellowships be reserved for this purpose. Basically, such a protected competition can be thought of as a kind of affirmative action for high demand disciplines. If the survey of FLAS graduates confirms that sufficient demand exists for area specialists in these disciplines, it is in the program's interest to attract such students. The best qualified students will only be interested if they can accommodate both the norms of their disciplines and the requirements of language and area studies. Hence, this means that ED needs to consider granting some fellowships as postdoctoral awards so students with strong disciplinary training can then apply it in a particular world area. These students also need more flexible definitions of language study—summer language training, more intensive courses offered every other quarter or semester.[2] Perhaps such a protected competition might be tried first on an experimental basis to make certain adequate demand exists.

Professional school students also lack incentives to engage in language and area studies. Again, ED needs to do more than just recommend that professional students be selected as FLAS recipients. First, it needs to identify the specific demand levels for each of the various professors by world area. Then ED's strategy should be more finely tuned so that the incentives FLAS offers these students are appropriate. In other words, the program needs to consider that professionals

[2]While this is outside the scope of FLAS or Title VI, it is likely that more economists, sociologists, and quantitative political scientists would move into area studies if there were better aggregate data available on non-Western societies. The construction of such data bases is costly, but the Title VI research program might consider funding several projects to identify and merge existing data files and to recommend the direction of future efforts.

must engage in a highly structured curriculum and that they are often quite marketable without language and area studies. Consequently, ED needs to offer larger stipends, support for more intensive language training, and perhaps, an extra year of training beyond the regular professional course of study. Like those for the high demand disciplines, these fellowships could also be part of a separate competition, either for students competing on a national basis or as a reward to professional schools that have made an effort to internationalize their curriculum.

A third issue is whether FLAS should continue as solely a predoctoral program. We know that demand for new area and language specialists is limited. At the same time, there is little turnover among existing specialists and many are now teaching in smaller, more isolated institutions. Therefore, it might be appropriate at this time to place less emphasis on the training of new specialists and more on maintaining the skills of existing ones. Presently, Fulbright-Hays provides some support for this purpose. But more funds are needed and not just for overseas teaching and research. We recommend that ED consider reserving 20 to 30 percent of FLAS funds for postdoctoral fellowships, part of which could go to those with professional degrees, or degrees in high demand disciplines, for training in language and area studies. The remaining funds would support area specialists who have been teaching for some time. The FLAS funds would allow them to spend a year at a major area center doing independent research, developing new courses, or studying area-related topics outside their own discipline (e.g., a historian might take economics courses or work with faculty at an applied research institute). Not only would this allow specialists to maintain and upgrade their skills, but such fellowships would also help break the intellectual isolation many now feel because they are the only area specialists on their particular campuses.

The final substantive issue is the size of the FLAS stipend. We recommend that it be doubled to $5850 an academic year. Not only does this seem warranted because of the rising cost of living, but such an increase would make FLAS more competitive with other sources of student support and more attractive to non-humanities students interested in area studies. If a postdoctoral fellowship is established, we recommend that this stipend be competitive with other government and foundation fellowships (i.e., approximately $15,000 a year with recipients allowed to supplement with other fellowships or sabbatical leave from their home institutions).

Of course, such a change would require a trade-off in the total number of fellowships awarded. For example, using ED's FY 81 budget request of $6,272,000 for FLAS fellowships as a base, our recommended distribution of fellowships would be:

Type of Fellowship	Number
Protected competition for professional students and those in high demand disciplines (average cost of $9135 includes a $5850 stipend plus tuition)	59
Postdoctoral (average cost $18,285)	110
Predoctoral academic (average cost $9135)	408
Total	577

The total number of fellowships available under this plan represents about a 57 percent decrease in the number that could traditionally be funded with this appropriation level—a decrease due largely to an increase in the stipend level, not to the creation of new recipient categories. Given our findings, we believe such a reduction ought to be considered: it would make the FLAS program more congruent with current demand conditions but still allocate the bulk of available fellowships to doctoral students studying traditional academic subjects.

The only serious administrative problem with FLAS is the timeliness of funds disbursement. As with the centers, this problem can be addressed by scheduling the grants competition one year before the actual funding period begins (e.g., a spring competition for fall funding the following year).

A final administrative recommendation is that ED consider more flexible definitions of language study and student status. This could be done by requiring institutions to make certain that their students are making reasonable progress and gaining language competence in a manner consistent with the institution's own standards for advanced graduate students.

Graduate and Undergraduate Studies Program

Because this program has a relatively small amount of funding available and a large number of potential applicants it needs to maximize two goals: (1) funding a maximum number of projects that are likely to continue once federal funding ends and (2) disseminating information about successful projects as widely as possible. Because of its limited resources, this program component needs to focus on projects that can have a broader impact than just on immediate grant recipients.

ED needs to obtain a great deal more information about project implementation and continuation rates. One way to do this is to have

former project directors monitor projects during implementation and evaluate them at the end of their grant period. Therefore, we suggest the use of regional panels comprised of former project directors. These panels can both provide ED with necessary information and projects with implementation assistance. Such as arrangement would probably involve five to ten days of on-site visits over the course of a two-year grant and then a report to ED. If regional panels were used, ED could eliminate the institutional self-evaluation requirement since it appears to be of marginal use to projects. The projects could then use some of their grant money (approximately $1000 over the two years) to support the services of the regional panel, with ED paying the remainder of the costs. In order to obtain less biased evaluation, the members of a regional panel who evaluate a project could differ from those who provide technical assistance. We think that such a practitioner-based system would help both ED and grant recipients.

To help disseminate information about successful projects ED should assist some projects to qualify for placement on the National Diffusion Network (NDN). At the present time, this is only a tentative recommendation. So few higher education projects are currently on NDN that it may be difficult to adapt this model at the postsecondary level, but DIE staff should at least begin to discuss the possibility with NDN staff.

Finally, we recommend that a small proportion of program funds be used for various kinds of dissemination efforts. Such activities might include:

- Publication of a handbook of successful project ideas.
- Technical assistance at the planning and pre-proposal stage provided by former project directors on a regional basis.
- Presentations by ED staff and project directors at a variety of professional meetings like those of the community college and state college associations.

Research Program

Because many of Title VI's competing goals come together in the research program (K-12 vs. higher education, language vs. area studies), this program needs to allocate its funds using a much more conscious strategy than it presently uses. The kind of priority setting that is done for language materials also needs to be done across program objectives so a better balance can be achieved among them. We found that despite its critical role in advancing instruction in the uncommon languages, the research program has very low visibility for several

reasons. Since the program does not fund publication or extensive dissemination, materials developed with Section 602 grants may very well be underutilized. A disproportionate amount of program money is spent on language surveys at the expense of area studies materials development, particularly at the undergraduate and K-12 levels. Finally, the Section 602 program is not coordinated with either the centers or citizenship education components of Title VI.

As long as specialist training and general education both remain Title VI objectives, we would recommend that the research program fund more projects aimed at developing materials for K-12, general undergraduate education, business, and the larger community. This can be done by funding fewer language surveys spaced out over longer time periods.

Since dissemination remains one of Section 602's major problems, we make several recommendations in this area. First, Section 602 should fund a dissemination study to determine the demand for research program products and to identify the most effective ways to serve potential users. The study should focus on the following questions:

- Who uses the language and area studies materials developed with Section 602 funds? How did they learn about the availability of these materials?
- How large is the population of potential users who are currently unserved or underserved?
- What are the special problems of developing and disseminating language materials?
- Why are ERIC and the Center for Applied Linguistics presently underutilized? How can existing dissemination technologies be better used?
- Is it feasible to use the Government Printing Office as a publisher of Section 602 materials?

The program should also explore the feasibility of awarding small add-on grants to prepare successfully pretested materials for publication.

Finally, Section 602 could help grant recipients if it became more visible to potential users of project materials. This means ongoing contact with the appropriate professional associations and better coordination with the other components of Title VI. Section 602 could better coordinate with other program components if it were the dissemination arm for all of Title VI and had responsibility for distributing those materials developed as part of center grants (including outreach materials), international studies projects, and citizenship education. As a first step in this process, Section 602 could fund a study to inventory

all existing materials from these program components and begin to identify likely candidates for some kind of dissemination system.

Overall Program Administration

The substantive changes described in the preceding sections are of limited value unless DIE can also improve its own organizational position within ED. ED and DIE staff have several available options in this regard.

1. Title VI could be moved to an agency like the International Communications Agency (ICA) or the State Department, whose organizational goals are closer to the objectives of Title VI. But presently there is little support within either of these agencies for such a move.

2. The general enrichment activities within Title VI could be given equal status with specialist training. Although enrichment and specialist training are both now firmly entrenched as Title VI program goals, specialist training is still preeminent and largely defines Title VI's image within ED. An equal balance between the two would bring Title VI more in line with ED's major priorities, but would require a different justification for the federal role in international education. Policymakers would have to show that states and localities are failing to meet this function and that their failure has serious consequences for the nation and its citizens. Surely a lack of citizen awareness about international issues constitutes a serious problem, but if one accepts this argument, the immediate implication is that Title VI should be greatly expanded to serve community colleges and local school districts throughout the country. The $2 million presently allocated for citizen education would need to be multiplied many times over before any significant impact could be felt, particularly if such efforts included K-12 foreign language training.

3. If Title VI remains in ED with only modest additional funding available for it, several changes would be necessary to increase its effectiveness. First, ED needs to acknowledge that Title VI's emphasis on quality and the competitive strength of grant recipients is a legitimate and desirable program objective. Second, communication between policy and program staff needs to be improved. The present lack of communication is not unique to Title VI and also affects other ED programs, but as indicated in Chapter 1, the problem has become particularly serious for Title VI over the last few years, affecting both program content and management. Third, ED needs to sell Title VI more actively and effectively to Congress. The recent Title VI reauthorization demonstrates that the authorizing committees have shown a renewed interest in international studies. While it may be more dif-

ficult to get the appropriations committees to translate this into increased funding, more effective budget presentations by ED are likely to result in at least marginal increases for the program. This third option, then, assumes that with only incremental changes Title VI can be administered more effectively.

The next section builds on the substantive and administrative recommendations made thus far and outlines a set of indicators that can be used to evaluate Title VI program performance on an ongoing basis.

PROGRAM PERFORMANCE INDICATORS

In each chapter on the Title VI component programs we outlined the standards by which grant recipients ought to be evaluated. Since these standards are based on Congressional intent as expressed in the Title VI legislation, the recommendations discussed in this chapter are designed to improve the match between these legislative aims and actual grantee performance. But as our previous discussion indicates, accomplishing these objectives depends greatly on the quality and direction of program administration. Likewise, the successful implementation of any changes in Title VI also depends on continuing evaluation of program performance.

It is difficult, however, to develop the performance indicators needed for such an effort. The program is currently stressing both specialist training and general education, but the former objective is receiving the bulk of Title VI funding. Therefore, this goal should be weighted more heavily in any overall evaluation of program performance, yet it is hard to determine just how much more it should be counted. Since Title VI is a program with very broad objectives and a relatively small funding level, any set of performance indicators also needs to take into account this gap between goals and resources. Another factor that needs to be considered is the limited control DIE staff exert over grant recipients because of legislative language that makes federal program requirements for Title VI minimal. Still, even if we keep these limitations in mind, a number of performance standards are appropriate for each of the Title VI component programs.

Centers and Fellowship Program

One performance criterion ought to be whether the Title VI program has created an incentive structure that is consistent with both market conditions and the organizational dynamics of universities. ED

cannot be held solely accountable for either the oversupply or maldistribution of specialists. At the same time, it should be expected to take certain actions to improve the match between training and employment and then be evaluated on their effectiveness. The first such action should be to assess the realism of Title VI's program objectives. An example of where this has not been done is the program's current emphasis on professional schools. No attempt has been made to evaluate whether such a focus makes sense given student interests and university organization. Additionally, no attempt has been made to differentiate this goal by professions and world area. In other words, each ED requirement affecting the distribution of Title VI funds or the substantive direction of the program should be scrutinized to determine: whether it is realistic given the job market for specific disciplines and professions in a given world area and whether this requirement can be achieved within the university context using the resources and incentives available to the typical area center.

A second standard by which DIE performance can be assessed is the extent to which it employs available program levers (like the panel review criteria and the priority disciplines) in a way that rewards institutions that are more responsive to current user needs. Again, the point is that ED cannot and should not coerce centers into changing their basic curriculum. However, program incentives should be used to reward the most adaptive institutions.

A final action that can improve the training-employment match is for DIE to maintain systematic, ongoing contact with government and business employers. In this way, Title VI program regulations can be made more consistent with user needs.

Since area centers serve functions other than just specialist production, program staff also need to make certain that Title VI funds facilitate the teaching of a broad range of languages and that the presence of area centers on a campus contributes to internationalizing the general curriculum. ED cannot mandate, except in the most general way, how centers spend their funds, but it can, for example, include among its program rating criteria whether centers or affiliated departments offer survey courses aimed at nonspecialist students.

Graduate and Undergraduate Projects

The performance criteria for DIE staff administering the Title VI projects are perhaps the clearest of all. They need to be based on the continuation rate of funded projects and the extent to which project ideas are broadly disseminated and adopted by other institutions. Again, this is with the understanding that the relationship between

Title VI funding and subsequent project continuation is not a perfect one. A variety of institutional and project characteristics affect this relationship, and DIE has little control over the eventual project outcomes. However, if DIE were to use more precise project review criteria, the present continuation rate would likely increase. Like the project continuation rate, dissemination of project ideas can be measured with little difficulty to provide information about project effectiveness.

Research Projects

For the research projects, performance indicators should relate to the program's ability to target its funds in the areas of greatest need (as defined by potential users of project materials). There should also be an appropriate balance between language and area studies, specialized and general education materials, and higher education and K-12. The definition of "appropriate" will obviously vary over time and will depend on how various program objectives are weighted. Like the graduate and undergraduate projects, the research program also needs to demonstrate that materials developed under its sponsorship are widely available. In sum, performance criteria for the research program should be based on the program's ability to support research relevant to all clientele served by Title VI and to develop mechanisms that promote dissemination of research products.

Performance Indicators for Overall Program Administration

These indicators refer to all the Title VI component programs. For example, are funds disbursed in a timely way? Presently they are not, and improvements could be made if the grant cycles for the various Title VI component programs were staggered and if funding competitions could be scheduled well in advance of actual award dates.

Reporting requirements are now also rather meaningless because grant recipients receive little or no feedback on them. Since DIE staff resources are limited, it might make more sense to require one complete substantive report and two shorter, primarily fiscal, reports during a three year grant cycle. Deadlines for these reports could be staggered with the understanding that DIE staff would respond in detail at least to the one substantive report. This is just one example of how staff could be more responsive even with their limited resources. In any event, staff responsiveness to grant recipients needs to be considered in assessing program performance.

These performance indicators are suggested as a way to move the Title VI program away from the rather mechanistic way it has been managed in the past. There is no question that staff have worked under less than ideal conditions. But even given these circumstances, Title VI could have a greater impact than it does currently if available program levers were used in a more creative fashion.

CONCLUSIONS

In the first chapter of this report, we noted that the basic policy dilemma facing Title VI is the trade-off between specialist training and general diffusion of international knowledge. We now know that despite its limited resources, Title VI will continue to address both these objectives. The foreign policy needs of the United States and domestic interest group politics have together served to broaden the federal role in international education. Consequently, a choice between these two objectives is not possible at this time. Yet, as we indicated in Chapter 1, there are a number of choices that can be made within each of these two basic options.

Throughout this report we have examined these program choices in light of our fieldwork findings. Again, we see that tradition and political logic prevent clear-cut choices. But a better balance can be struck among program objectives. For example, until now the primary thrust of Title VI support for specialist training has been training new specialists with a world area focus for academic careers. Our fieldwork data suggest that the program should now pay greater attention to maintaining the existing stock of specialists; create more realistic incentives for professional training with an international studies focus; and broaden Title VI's definition of a center to include different mixes of world area, topical, academic, and professional campus units. Likewise, within the general diffusion category we suggested that the research program pay greater attention to area studies and to materials development at the K-12 level. This would necessitate a shift away from the program's current emphasis on language teaching and higher education.

In sum, this report has taken the Congressional intent underlying Title VI as a given and has tried to interpret our fieldwork data in light of legislative intent, program constituency interests, and external conditions affecting the current shape of international studies. We found that colleges and universities, with the support provided by Title VI, have created a major national resource in their language and area centers. But the continued quality and vitality of this resource may be

in jeopardy unless faculty and administrators begin to adapt international studies to a very changed set of circumstances.

At the federal level we found a well-established program that has few of the compliance problems plaguing younger and larger federal programs. Grant recipients, while disagreeing with some program requirements, have been quite scrupulous in complying with them. But Title VI may now be undergoing a "mid-life crisis" as it also tries to adapt to the changed context of international studies. ED has suggested new directions for the program, but because these recommendations are not finely-tuned enough they have operated more as empty slogans than effective policy levers. With new legislation and a reawakened interest in international education, Title VI now holds the possibility for helping to lead international studies through the bad times it currently faces. Some may see the present situation as quite dismal, yet it also presents those unafraid of change a unique opportunity for renewing international studies.

Appendix A

CENTER FIELDWORK SAMPLE AND DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

CENTER SAMPLE

Within budgetary constraints, we wanted a center sample that would be as similar as possible to the Title VI center population. Consequently, we used these dimensions to select centers:

- World area (South Asia, Southeast Asia, East Asia, Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Western Europe, Middle East, Latin America, and Africa).
- Center type (international, comprehensive area, undergraduate area, area consortia).
- Age as a Title VI center (older, i.e., pre-1970; and newer, 1970-1979).
- Region of the country (Northeast, North Central, South, and West).
- Type of university (public, private).
- Panel review rating (higher: ranked first, second, or third in world area; lower: fourth to eleventh).

Table A.1 compares the fieldwork sample with the Title VI center population by world area and center type.

Eight (32 percent) of the sampled centers are privately funded. Centers vary in the age of their relationship to Title VI, 14 (56 percent) receiving Title VI funds prior to 1970 and 11 (44 percent) for the first time in the 1970s. Of the total sample, 4 percent lost and then later regained Title VI funds. Most of the centers with an interrupted Title VI funding history lost their funding when Congress significantly reduced Title VI appropriations in 1972.

Of the total sample, 14 (56 percent) centers had higher panel review ratings and 11 (44 percent), lower ratings.

RESPONDENT SAMPLE

Rand interviewed an average of eleven respondents for each center, counting student interviews as one respondent. For each center we

Table A.1

FY 80 NDEA Centers by World Area, Showing Relative Proportion of Sample Centers

World Area	Centers in World Area as Percent of All Title VI Centers	Sample Centers in World Area as Percent of All Sample Centers	Percent of Total Centers in World Area Sampled
Africa	10 (10)	8 (2)	20
East Asia	21 (22)	16 (4)	18
South Asia	9 (9)	8 (2)	22
Southeast Asia	5 (5)	4 (1)	20
Middle East	12 (12)	12 (3)	25
Latin America	16 (16)	16 (4)	25
Soviet Union and Eastern Europe	13 (13)	20 (5)	38
West Europe	3 (3)	8 (2)	67
Other[a]	5 (5)	0 (0)	0
International	8 (8)	8 (2)	25
Total	102 (103)	100 (25)	16[b]

NOTE: Figures do not add to 100 percent because of rounding error.

[a]Includes centers focusing on Canada (3), Uralic and Inner Asia (1), and Pacific Islands (1).

[b]Average percent sampled.

interviewed occupants of the following positions: Center Director; Associate or Assistant Center Director where relevant; Outreach Coordinator; offices with budget and/or policy authority over the center (e.g., Vice-Provost, Dean of Graduate Studies, Dean of Undergraduate Studies); directors of umbrella international studies units; administrator of FLAS fellowships; professors in the relevant language department and a representative group of faculty from other disciplinary departments, professional schools, or applied programs with ties to the center; and students, usually both graduate or undergraduate, but dependent on the nature of the center. We relied on the center's 1979 Title VI proposal and telephone conversations with individuals at each University to identify relevant offices and individuals.

We asked the center director to arrange our interview with the student sample (approximately 5-10 at each center) because we had no easy way of independently identifying and contacting these students. This arrangement may have biased the student sample, presumably in a positive direction. However, we observed that student respondents expressed complaints and satisfactions with their programs that were relatively consistent with their programs' national reputation and our impressions of its strengths and weaknesses.

DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

Four senior researchers conducted all center pretests and collected all center data. We used three interview guides as our data collection instruments, one for center faculty and administrators, one for FLAS administrators, and the other for students. Although our interview guides were quite precise and detailed (averaging about 7 pages), they permitted staff considerable discretion in the questions they asked and in the issues they pursued with specific respondents. Our assumption was that not everyone, even within the same respondent class, is equally knowledgeable about all topics of interest to the study. Consequently, field staff needed to decide which respondents were the most informed about particular topics. At the same time, they were also required to validate all information collected, using multiple respondents in both similar and different role positions, and to determine the basis of respondents' perceptions (i.e., nature of their job responsibilities, self-interest, etc.).

We conducted exploratory interviews at four centers to determine the substantive appropriateness of our questions for different center structures, types of respondents, and different types of institutions. Using these exploratory interviews, we revised the interview guide and

formally pretested it with pairs of interviewers at two centers to obtain a qualitative sense of intercoder reliability. The guide was revised a second time on the basis of the pretests.

Centers within the same world area were assigned across interviewers to give them a basis for distinguishing institutional from world area commonalities. A team of research assistants scheduled 4 to 7 interviews per day for each interviewer. The center director interview was scheduled as a half-day interview; others, as 1 hour to 1 1/2 hour interviews. Each researcher stayed in the field for 8 to 10 working days, spending about 2 1/2 days at each center. Fieldwork was conducted between December 1979 and April 1980.

In initial telephone calls we told respondents that we wanted to see how the Title VI program operates nationally, that we had no interest in evaluating individual centers or institutions, and that we would treat their names, institutional affiliation, and responses confidentially. We repeated this assurance of confidentiality in a letter that confirmed the interview appointment. The interviewer again repeated it at the beginning of each interview.

Each interviewer took written notes during the interviews and later taped an organized version of each interview. Research assistants and the senior researchers then used each full set of center interviews to construct a site survey for that center. In the Site Survey Method, a variant on the traditional case study approach, field staff use their detailed notes on each site to complete an extensive questionnaire rather than writing a formal case study. The questionnaire contained both open-ended and fixed alternative items designed to elicit factual information about the site as well as to survey extensively the quantity, type, and reliability of the evidence on which staff based their descriptions of a center's most important characteristics.

The site survey form, with its 97 questions, paralleled the interview guides and was divided into three sections:

1. An enumeration of factual information like center budget, number of faculty, etc.
2. A summary of respondents' viewpoints about the study's independent and dependent variables. Besides summarizing their perceptions, staff were also asked to identify points of agreement and disagreement among respondents and explain the basis for these viewpoints, using fieldwork observations.
3. A rating of each center on the dependent variables of interest and explanations for these outcomes based on the site data. Staff were also asked to discuss whether or not initial assumptions guiding the research were borne out in a particular case.

These forms facilitated comparability across sites, and allowed us to aggregate and analyze field data systematically.

Appendix B

NDEA TITLE VI AND HEA TITLE VI LEGISLATION

In order for interested readers to see the actual differences in Congressional intent between the original NDEA Title VI legislation and the current Title VI of the Higher Education Act, both pieces of legislation are reproduced below.

The National Defense Education Act of 1958
Title VI - Language Development
Part A - Centers and Research and Studies
Language and Area Centers

Sec. 601.(a) The Commissioner is authorized to arrange through contracts with institutions of higher education for the establishment and operation by them, during the period beginning July 1, 1958, and ending with the close of June 30, 1962, of centers for the teaching of any modern foreign language with respect to which the Commissioner determines (1) that individuals trained in such language are needed by the Federal Government or by business, industry, or education in the United States, and (2) that adequate instruction in such language is not readily available in the United States. Any such contract may provide for instruction not only in such modern foreign language but also in other fields needed to provide a full understanding of the areas, regions, or countries in which such language is commonly used, to the extent adequate instruction in such fields is not readily available, including fields such as history, political science, linguistics, economics, sociology, geography, and anthropology. Any such contract may cover not more than 50 per centum of the cost of the establishment and operation of the center with respect to which it is made, including the cost of grants to the staff for travel in the foreign areas, regions, or countries with which the subject matter of the field or fields in which they are or will be working is concerned and the cost of travel of foreign scholars to such centers to teach or assist in teaching therein and the cost of their return, and shall be made on such conditions as the Commissioner finds necessary to carry out the purposes of this section.

(b) The Commissioner is also authorized, during the period beginning July 1, 1958, and ending with the close of June 30, 1962, to pay stipends to individuals undergoing advanced training in any modern

foreign language (with respect to which he makes the determination under clause (1) of subsection (a)), and other fields needed for a full understanding of the area, region, or country in which such language is commonly used, at any short-term or regular session of any institution of higher education, including allowances for dependents and for travel to and from their places of residence, but only upon reasonable assurance that the recipients of such stipends will, on completion of their training, be available for teaching a modern foreign language in an institution of higher education or for such other service of a public nature as may be permitted in regulations of the Commissioner.

RESEARCH AND STUDIES

Sec. 602. The Commissioner is authorized, directly or by contract, to make studies and surveys to determine the need for increased or improved instruction in modern foreign languages and other fields needed to provide a full understanding of the areas, regions, or countries in which such languages are commonly used, to conduct research on more effective methods of teaching such languages and in such other fields, and to develop specialized materials for use in such training, or in training teachers of such languages or in such fields.

APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

Sec. 603. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this part, not to exceed $8,000,000 in any one fiscal year.

PART B - LANGUAGE INSTITUTES

AUTHORIZATION

Sec. 611. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated $7,250,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1959, and each of the three succeeding fiscal years, to enable the Commissioner to arrange, through contracts with institutions of higher education, for the operation by them of short-term or regular session institutes for advance training, particularly in the use of new teaching methods and instructional materials, for individuals who are engaged in or preparing to engage in the teaching, or supervising or training teachers, of any modern foreign language in elementary or secondary schools. Each individual (engaged, or preparing to engage, in the teaching, or supervising or training teachers, of any modern foreign language in a public elementary or secondary school) who attends an institute operated under the provisions of this part shall be eligible (after application therefor) to receive a stipend at the rate of $75 per week for the period of his attendance at such institute, and each such individual with one

or more dependents shall receive an additional stipend at the rate of $15 per week for each such dependent for the period of such attendance

EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1980

"TITLE VI - INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

"PART A - INTERNATIONAL AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE STUDIES

"FINDINGS AND PURPOSES

"Sec. 601.(a) The Congress finds that—

"(1) knowledge of other countries is important in promoting mutual understanding and cooperation between nations;

"(2) strong American educational resources are a necessary base for strengthening our relations with other countries;

"(3) present and future generations of Americans should be given the opportunity to develop to the fullest extent possible their intellectual capacities in all areas of knowledge pertaining to other countries, peoples, and cultures; and

"(4) the economy of the United States and the long range security of the Nation are dependent upon acquiring such knowledge.

"(b) It is the purpose of this part to assist in the development of resources and trained personnel for international study, international research, and foreign language study and to coordinate programs of the Federal Government in the areas of international study and research and foreign language study.

"GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE LANGUAGE AND AREA CENTERS

"Sec. 602.(a)(1) The Secretary is authorized to make grants to and enter into contracts with, institutions of higher education, or combination of such institutions, for the purpose of establishing, strengthening, and operating graduate and undergraduate centers and programs which will be national resources for the teaching of any modern foreign language, for instruction in fields needed to provide a full understanding of the areas, regions, or countries in which such language is commonly used, or for research and training in international studies and the international aspects of professional and other fields of study.

"(2) Any such grant or contract may be used to pay all or part of the cost of establishing or operating a center or program, including the cost of faculty, staff, and student travel in foreign areas, regions, or countries, the cost of teaching and research materials, the cost of curriculum planning and development, the cost of bringing visiting scholars and

faculty to the center to teach or to conduct research, and the cost of training and improvement of the staff, for the purpose of, and subject to such conditions as the Secretary finds necessary for, carrying out the objectives of this section.

"(3) The Secretary may make grants to centers described in paragraph (1) having important library collections for the maintenance of such collections.

"(b) The Secretary is also authorized to pay stipends to individuals undergoing such advanced training in any center or program approved by the Secretary under this part, including allowances for dependents and for travel for research and study in the United States and abroad.

"(c) No funds may be expended under this part for undergraduate travel except in accordance with rules prescribed by the Secretary setting forth policies and procedures to assure that Federal funds made available for such travel are expended as part of a formal program of supervised study.

"INTERNATIONAL STUDIES CENTERS

"Sec. 603.(a)(1) The Secretary is authorized to make grants to institutions of higher education, or combinations of such institutions, for the purpose of establishing strengthening, and operating graduate and undergraduate centers which will be regional resources to increase access to research and training in international and foreign language studies and the international aspects of professional and other fields of study. Activities carried out in such centers may be concentrated either on specific geographical areas of the world or on particular fields or issues in world affairs which concern one or more countries, or on both. In addition to providing training to students enrolled in the institution of higher education in which the center is located, the centers serving as regional resources shall, in order to qualify for assistance under this section, offer programs to strengthen international studies and foreign languages in the two-year and four-year colleges and universities in the region served by each such center.

"(2) The Secretary may also make grants to public and private nonprofit agencies and organizations, including professional and scholarly associations, whenever the Secretary determines that such grants will make an especially significant contribution to attaining the objectives of this section.

"(b) Grants under this section may be used to pay part or all of the cost of establishing, strengthening, equipping, and operating research and training centers, including the cost of teaching and research materials and resources, the cost of programs for bringing visiting scholars and faculty to the center, and the cost of training, improvement, and

travel of the staff for the purposes of carrying out the provisions of this section. Such grants may also include funds for stipends (in such amounts as may be determined in accordance with regulations of the Secretary) to individuals undergoing training in such centers, including allowances for dependents and for travel for research and study in the United States and abroad.

"(c) Grants under this section shall be made on such conditions as the Secretary determines to be necessary to carry out the purposes of this section.

"UNDERGRADUATE INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AND FOREIGN LANGUAGE PROGRAMS

"Sec. 604.(a) The Secretary is authorized to make grants to institutions of higher education, or combinations of such institutions, to assist them in planning, developing, and carrying out a comprehensive program to strengthen and improve undergraduate instruction in international studies and foreign languages. Grants made under this section may be for projects and activities which are an integral part of such a comprehensive program, such as—

"(1) planning for the development and expansion of undergraduate programs in international studies;

"(2) teaching, research, curriculum development, and other related activities;

"(3) training of faculty members in foreign countries;

"(4) expansion of foreign language courses;

"(5) programs under which foreign teachers and scholars may visit institutions as visiting faculty;

"(6) programs designed to integrate undergraduate education with terminal Masters Degree programs having an international emphasis; and

"(7) the development of an international dimension in teacher training.

"(b) The Secretary may also make grants to public and private nonprofit agencies and organizations, including professional and scholarly associations, whenever the Secretary determines such grants will make an especially significant contribution to attaining the objective of this section.

"RESEARCH; STUDIES; ANNUAL REPORT

"Sec. 605.(a) The Secretary may, directly or through grants or contracts, conduct research and studies which contribute to the pur-

poses of this part and part N of title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Such research and studies may include but are not limited to—

"(1) studies and surveys to determine the need for increased or improved instruction in modern foreign languages and in other fields needed to provide a full understanding of the places in which such languages are commonly used;

"(2) research on more effective methods of providing instruction and evaluating competency in such foreign languages and other fields; and

"(3) the development of specialized materials for use in providing such instruction and evaluation or for use in training individuals to provide such instruction and evaluation.

"(b) The Secretary shall prepare and publish an annual report which shall include an index and analysis of the books and research materials produced with assistance under this title.

"EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS

"Sec. 606.(a) The Secretary shall make excellence the criterion for selection of grants awarded under section 602.

"(b) To the extent practicable and consistent with the criterion of excellence, the Secretary shall award grants under this part (other than section 602) in such manner as will achieve an equitable distribution of funds throughout the Nation.

"AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

"Sec. 607. There are authorized to be appropriated $45,000,000 for fiscal year 1981, $55,000,000 for fiscal year 1982, $70,000,000 for fiscal year 1983, $80,000,000 for fiscal year 1984, and $85,000,000 for fiscal year 1985, to carry out the provisions of this part.

"PART B - BUSINESS AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

"FINDINGS AND PURPOSES

"Sec. 611.(a) The Congress finds that—

"(1) the future economic welfare of the United States will depend substantially on increasing international skills in the business community and creating an awareness among the American public of the internationalization of our economy;

"(2) concerted efforts are necessary to engage business schools,

language and area study programs, public and private sector organizations, and United States business in a mutually productive relationship which benefits the Nation's future economic interests;

"(3) few linkages presently exist between the manpower and information needs of United States business and the international education, language training and research capacities of institutions of higher education in the United States, and public and private organizations; and

"(4) organizations such as world trade councils, world trade councils, world trade clubs, chambers of commerce and State departments of commerce are not adequately used to link universities and business for joint venture exploration and program development.

"(b) It is the purpose of this part—

"(1) to enhance the broad objective of this Act by increasing and promoting the Nation's capacity for international understanding and economic enterprise through the provision of suitable international education and training for business personnel in various stages of professional development; and

"(2) to promote institutional and noninstitutional educational and training activities that will contribute to the ability of United States business to prosper in an international economy.

"EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

"Sec. 612.(a) The Secretary shall make grants to, and enter into contracts with, institutions of higher education to pay the Federal share of the cost of programs designed to promote linkages between such institutions and the American business community engaged in international economic activity. Each program assisted under this part shall both enhance the international academic programs of institutions of higher education and provide appropriate services to the business community which will expand its capacity to engage in commerce abroad.

"(b) Eligible activities to be conducted by institutions of higher education under this section shall include, but are not limited to—

"(1) innovation and improvement in international education curricula to serve the needs of the business community, including development of new programs for nontraditional, mid-career, or part-time students;

"(2) development of programs to inform the public of increasing

international economic interdependence and the role of American business within the international economic system;

"(3) internationalization of curricula at the junior and community college level, and at undergraduate and graduate school of business;

"(4) development of area studies programs and interdisciplinary international programs;

"(5) establishment of export education programs through cooperative arrangements with regional and world trade centers and councils, and with bilateral and multilateral trade associations;

"(6) research for and development of specialized teaching materials, including language materials, and facilities appropriate to business-oriented students;

"(7) establishment of student and faculty fellowship and internships for training and education in international business activities;

"(8) development of opportunities for junior business and other professional school faculty to acquire or strengthen international skills and perspectives; and

"(9) development of research programs on issues of common interest to institutions of higher education and private sector organizations and associations engaged in or promoting international economic activity.

"(c) No grant may be made and no contract may be entered into under the provisions of this part unless an institution of higher education submits an application at such time and in such manner as the Secretary may reasonably require. Each such application shall be accompanied by a copy of the agreement entered into by the institution of higher education with a business enterprise, trade organization or association engaged in international economic activity, or a combination or consortium of such enterprises, organizations or associations, for the purpose of establishing, developing, improving or expanding activities eligible for assistance under subsection (b) of this section. Each such application shall contain assurances that the institution of higher education will use the assistance provided under this part to supplement and not to supplant activities conducted by institutions of higher education described in subsection (b).

"(d) The Federal share under this part for each fiscal year shall not exceed 50 per centum of the cost of such program.

"AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

"Sec. 613. There are authorized to be appropriated $7,500,000 for fiscal year 1981 and for each of the succeeding fiscal years ending prior to October 1, 1985, to carry out the provisions of this part.

"PART C - GENERAL PROVISIONS
"Advisory Board

"Sec. 621.(a) Not less than four times each year the Secretary shall convene meetings of an advisory board on the conduct of programs under this title. The board shall consist of—

"(1) one member selected by the Secretary of State;

"(2) one member selected by the Secretary of Defense;

"(3) one member selected by the Secretary of the Treasury;

"(4) one member selected by the Secretary of Commerce;

"(5) one member selected by the Secretary to serve as Chairman and coordinator of the activities of the board;

"(6) one member selected by the Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities;

"(7) one member selected by the Director of the International Development Cooperation Agency;

"(8) one member selected by the Director of the International Communication Agency;

"(9) one member selected by the President and Chairman of the Export-Import Bank of the United States;

"(10) one member selected by the Administrator, Small Business Administration;

"(11) five members selected by the Secretary from among representatives of the postsecondary educational community;

"(12) two members selected by the Secretary from among representatives of the elementary and secondary education community;

"(13) three members selected by the Secretary from among members of the public; and

"(14) three members selected by the Secretary from among representatives of the business community.

"(b)(1) The Advisory Board shall establish two subcommittees to carry out the functions described in paragraphs (2) and (3) of this subsection.

"(2) The first such subcommittee shall consider the grants made, or contracts entered into, under part A and part N of title III of the

Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The board shall advise the Secretary on (A) any geographic areas of special need or concern to the United States, (B) the specific foreign languages to be designated under section 394(b)(3) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, (C) innovative approaches which may help to fulfill the purposes of this title, (D) activities which are duplicative of programs operated under other provisions of Federal law, (E) changes which should be made in the operation of programs under this part to ensure that the attention of scholars is attracted to problems of critical concern to United States international relations, and (F) the administrative and staffing requirements of international education programs in the Department.

"(3) The second such subcommittee shall review the programs under section 612 and shall advise the Secretary, who shall seek the advice of the Secretary of Commerce, on (A) changes which should be made to advance the purposed of part B and to assure the success of the programs authorized by part B, (B) special needs of such programs, and (C) any program elements which are duplicative of programs operated under other provisions of Federal law.

"DEFINITIONS

"Sec. 622.(a) As used in this title—

"(1) the term 'area studies' means a program of comprehensive study of the aspects of a society or societies, including study of its history, culture, economy, politics, international relations and languages;

"(2) the term 'international business' means profit-oriented business relationships conducted across national boundaries and includes activities such as the buying and selling of goods; investments in industries; the licensing of processes, patents and trademarks; and the supply of services;

"(3) the term 'export education' means educating, teaching and training to provide general knowledge and specific skills pertinent to the selling of goods and services to other countries including knowledge of market conditions, financial arrangements, laws and procedures; and

"(4) the term 'internationalization of curricula' means the incorporation of international or comparative perspectives in existing courses of study or the addition of new components to the curricula to provide an international context for American business education.

"(b) All references to individuals or organizations, unless the context otherwise requires, mean individuals who are citizens or permanent residents of the United States or organizations which are organized or incorporated in the United States."

(b) Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new part:

"PART N - INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

"SHORT TITLE; DECLARATION OF FINDINGS; PURPOSE

"Sec. 393.(a) This part may be cited as the 'International Understanding Act.'

"(b) The Congress finds that—

"(1) the well-being of the United States and its citizens is affected by policies adopted and actions taken by, or with respect to, other nations and areas; and

"(2) the United States must afford its citizens adequate access to the information which will enable them to make informed judgments with respect to the international policies and actions of the United States.

"(c) It is the purpose of this part to support educational programs which will increase the availability of such information to students in the United States.

"PROGRAM AUTHORIZED

"Sec. 394.(a)(1) The Secretary is authorized, by grant or contract, to stimulate educational programs to increase the the understanding of students and the public in the United States about the cultures, actions and interconnections of nations and peoples in order better to evaluate the international and domestic impact of major national policies.

"(2) Grants or contracts under this section may be made to any public or private agency or organization, including, but not limited to, institutions of higher education, State and local educational agencies, professional associations, education consortia, and organizations of teachers.

"(b)(1) Financial assistance under this part may be used for assistance for inservice training of teachers and other education personnel, the development of materials to link language learning to international studies, the compilation of existing information and resources about other nations in forms useful to various types of educational programs,

and the dissemination of information and resources to educators and educational officials upon their request, but such assistance may not be used for the acquisition of equipment or remodeling of facilities.

"(2) Financial assistance under this part may be made for projects and programs at all levels of education, and may include projects and programs carried on as part of community, adult, and continuing education programs.

"(3) Financial assistance under this part may be used by local educational agencies to introduce instruction in foreign languages designated by the Secretary as having critical importance for the Nation which have not been offered by the schools of the local educational agency in the three academic years preceding the year in which the grant is made.

"AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

"Sec. 395. There are authorized to be appropriated $5,250,000 for fiscal year 1981, $6,750,000 for fiscal year 1982, $8,250,000 for fiscal year 1983, and $9,000,000 each for fiscal years 1984 and 1985 to carry out the provisions of this part."

(c)(1) Title VI of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 is repealed.

(2) Title I of the International Education Act of 1966 is repealed.